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INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE
NEW HAVEN, CONN., AREA—Part 2

HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
EIGHTY-FOURTH CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION

SEPTEMBER 26, 1956

Printed for the use of the Committee on Un-American Activities

(INCLUDING INDEX)



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COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

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CONTENTS

PART 1

	Page
September 24, 1956: Testimony of—	
Bert David Gilden.....	5585
Harold Kent.....	5599
Bert D. Gilden (resumed).....	5599
Harold Kent (resumed).....	5605
Afternoon session:	
Oliver R. Arsenault.....	5612
Frank Henry Fazekas.....	5623
William Pistey.....	5631
Milton Weinberg.....	5636
Frank Peterson.....	5642
September 25, 1956: Testimony of—	
Saul Kreas.....	5647
Worden C. Mosher.....	5653
Saul Kreas (resumed).....	5654
Worden C. Mosher (resumed).....	5656
Samuel Richter.....	5668
Afternoon session:	
Harold W. Mosher.....	5678
Charlotte Richter (Mrs. Samuel Richter).....	5685
Konstantine Jakowenko.....	5689
Hyman Steinberg.....	5695

PART 2

September 26, 1956: Testimony of—	
Irving Dichter.....	5701
Josephine Willard.....	5712
Rowena R. Paumi.....	5725
Josephine Willard (resumed).....	5726
Rowena R. Paumi (resumed).....	5727
Joesph Barnes.....	5736
Lois Barnes (Mrs. Joseph Barnes).....	5739
Afternoon session:	
Samuel Davis.....	5742
Emma Davis (Mrs. Samuel Davis).....	5745
Paul Bloom.....	5749
Doris Bloom (Mrs. Paul Bloom).....	5751
Bernard Burg.....	5754
Saul Kreas (resumed).....	5759
Samuel Gruber.....	5761
Rowena R. Paumi (resumed).....	5765
Samuel Gruber (resumed).....	5765
Index.....	I

PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress (1946), chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, * * **

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

* * * * *

17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

(q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.

(A) Un-American Activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpoenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 84TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 5, January 5, 1955

* * * * *

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress:

* * * * *

(q) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.

* * * * *

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

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INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE NEW HAVEN, CONN., AREA—Part 2

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 1956

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
New Haven, Conn.

PUBLIC HEARING

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met at 10 a. m., pursuant to recess, in the United States Courthouse, New Haven, Conn., Hon. Edwin E. Willis (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Edwin E. Willis, of Louisiana, and Bernard W. Kearney, of New York.

Also present: Representative Albert W. Cretella, of Connecticut.

Staff members present: Richard Arens, director; Raymond T. Collins, investigator.

Mr. WILLIS. The subcommittee will come to order.

Counsel will call the first witness.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Irving Dichter, please come forward.

Kindly remain standing while the chairman administers an oath to you, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. Raise your right hand, please.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. DICHTER. I do.

TESTIMONY OF IRVING DICHTER

Mr. ARENS. Kindly have a seat.

Mr. DICHTER. Thank you, Mr. Arens.

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. DICHTER. My name is Irving Dichter, my residence is 555 Trumbull Avenue, Bridgeport, Conn., and I am the executive board member of the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers.

Mr. ARENS. Are you appearing today, Mr. Dichter, in response to a subpoena which was served upon you?

Mr. DICHTER. Yes, Mr. Arens.

Mr. ARENS. And you approached me a while ago and advised me that you did not have counsel?

Mr. DICHTER. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. At that time, I advised you with reference to the right which you have under the Constitution, and I should like to do so again on this record, namely, that if I ask you a question, the answer to which, in your honest judgment, if truthfully given would furnish information which might be used against you in a criminal proceeding, you have the privilege of declining to answer that on the basis of the provisions of the fifth amendment to the Constitution of the United States against self-incrimination.

Do you understand?

Mr. DICHTER. I do, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Spell your name for us, would you, please?

Mr. DICHTER. My name is Irving, I-r-v-i-n-g, Dichter, D-i-c-h-t-e-r, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been known by any name other than the name Dichter?

Mr. DICHTER. No, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Where and when were you born?

Mr. DICHTER. I was born in Austria on May 23, 1913.

Mr. ARENS. When did you come to the United States?

Mr. DICHTER. In 1921, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Did you come to the United States at that time as a permanent resident?

Mr. DICHTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a citizen of the United States?

Mr. DICHTER. I am, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Was that by derivation or by naturalization?

Mr. DICHTER. By derivation.

Mr. ARENS. Your father is a citizen, I take it.

Mr. DICHTER. My father is deceased.

Mr. ARENS. Your father was a citizen?

Mr. DICHTER. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. As of what date did you procure citizenship by derivation?

Mr. DICHTER. I believe it was in 1926; I am not certain of the date of my father's citizenship, but I am sure it was 5 years after he arrived in this country.

Mr. ARENS. Kindly tell us, if you please, a word about your education.

Mr. DICHTER. Well, public school.

Mr. ARENS. Where, please, sir?

Mr. DICHTER. In New York City and high school in New York City, and 2 years I believe, or 2½ years of college, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Where did you attend college?

Mr. DICHTER. At New York University, sir, and at City College.

Mr. ARENS. When did you complete your formal education?

Mr. DICHTER. 1933.

Mr. ARENS. Did you receive a degree of any kind?

Mr. DICHTER. No, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Did you receive or have you received since 1933 any formalized instruction of any kind, character, or description?

Mr. DICHTER. You mean have I gone to school since then?

Mr. ARENS. Yes; any formalized training of any kind, character, or description.

Mr. DICHTER. No, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Have you attended any classes?

Mr. DICHTER. It's a rather broad question. May I exercise the privilege of the fifth amendment, sir?

Mr. ARENS. In your honest judgment, if you would give a truthful answer to that question with reference to any specialized training you may have had, do you feel you might be supplying information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. DICHTER. Could I think the answer out a minute, Mr. Arens?

Mr. ARENS. Surely.

Mr. DICHTER. I would stick to my former answer, Mr. Arens.

Mr. ARENS. Now kindly tell us, if you please, sir, what was your occupation as soon as you had completed your formal education in New York?

Mr. DICHTER. Well, I worked as a house painter. I didn't have really an occupation. It was during the depression.

Mr. ARENS. Give us, if you please, sir, the principal occupations which you have had since you completed your formal education.

Dr. DICHTER. Well, I don't think I have had any—my principal occupation has been as representative of the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers.

Mr. ARENS. When did that occupation commence?

Mr. DICHTER. 1941, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Where?

Mr. DICHTER. In, I believe, Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. ARENS. Who was your immediate superior?

Mr. DICHTER. A Mr. Edward Cheyfitz, C-h-e-y-f-i-t-z.

Mr. ARENS. What was your duty or responsibility when you assumed your position?

Mr. DICHTER. I was international representative, which is the broad title for a representative.

Mr. ARENS. Were you located in Cleveland or were you assigned elsewhere and then sent to Cleveland?

Mr. DICHTER. No, I was engaged in—well, I worked in Cleveland; is that what you are asking me?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. DICHTER. Yes, sir; I worked in Cleveland.

Mr. ARENS. In what line of work were you engaged when you assumed your task as an employee of the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers in Cleveland?

Mr. DICHTER. Prior to that, sir, I worked in Pottstown, Pa., for the Dohler Diecasting Co.

Mr. ARENS. At the time you were working for the Dohler Diecasting Co., were you affiliated with the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers?

Mr. DICHTER. No, the union was then an independent union; it was the International Association of Diecasting Workers.

Mr. ARENS. Was that subsequently incorporated in the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers?

Mr. DICHTER. Yes, it was subsequently incorporated.

Mr. ARENS. How long were you engaged in Cleveland, Ohio, with the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers?

Mr. DICHTER. I don't have exact dates.

Mr. ARENS. Your best estimate?

Mr. DICHTER. My best estimate would be about a year, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Then where did you go?

Mr. DICHTER. Then I came to Connecticut, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Have you been continuously so engaged in Connecticut?

Mr. DICHTER. No, sir.

In 1945, I believe I was assigned to New York.

Mr. ARENS. By whom?

Mr. DICHTER. By the international union.

Mr. ARENS. You came to Connecticut in 1942?

Mr. DICHTER. Approximately.

Mr. ARENS. Approximately 1942?

Mr. DICHTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. What was your assignment at that time?

Mr. DICHTER. Well, my assignment was to service local unions and to organize.

Mr. ARENS. How long were you so engaged here in Connecticut?

Mr. DICHTER. Until 1945, I believe, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Then what happened?

Mr. DICHTER. Then I was assigned to New York, sir.

Mr. ARENS. In the same capacity?

Mr. DICHTER. Yes, to represent the international union.

Mr. ARENS. How long were you so engaged in New York City?

Mr. DICHTER. Five years, sir.

Mr. ARENS. What happened at the end of the 5 years?

Mr. DICHTER. I was reassigned by the international union to Connecticut, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Have you been continuously employed here since that time?

Mr. DICHTER. Yes, I have.

Mr. ARENS. What is the total strength of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers?

Mr. DICHTER. Nationally, sir?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. DICHTER. Well, I would say about, it varies from month to month, but I would say around sixty-five, sixty thousand.

Mr. ARENS. The total strength internationally is about 85,000, is it not?

Mr. DICHTER. Mr. Arens, I am not sure of these figures. If I had them in front of me, I could give them to you.

Mr. ARENS. In addition to the strength of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers in the United States, are there substantial numbers in Canada?

Mr. DICHTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. There is an interlocking relationship between the Canadian and the American International Unions of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, is that not correct?

Mr. DICHTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. How many members are there of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers in the Connecticut area?

Mr. DICHTER. In the Connecticut area at the present time?

I should say about 2,700, sir.

Mr. ARENS. As an official of a labor organization, did you sign the Taft-Hartley non-Communist affidavit?

Mr. DICHTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Was that signature and that affidavit true?

Mr. DICHTER. Sir, here I am getting into hazardous ground. I would ask the privilege of the fifth at this point.

Mr. KEARNEY. I would like to ask the gentleman what he means by "hazardous ground."

Mr. DICHTER. Well, since I don't have counsel here, it is difficult for me to consult on these questions. I would much rather have had counsel, but he is not available; that is, the counsel for the international union.

Mr. ARENS. Is that Nathan Witt?

Mr. DICHTER. That is right. This is the first time I have appeared before a committee. I have some idea of what——

Mr. KEARNEY. Of course you are not suggesting to this committee that you are being interrogated against your will to have counsel?

Mr. DICHTER. No, no; I am not saying that at all, Mr. Kearney—I see the nameplate in front of you—I am going to take the privilege of the fifth, sir.

Mr. ARENS. I personally would rather have us lean over backward than take advantage of a man without counsel.

How many affidavits did you sign; Taft-Hartley affidavits?

Mr. DICHTER. I believe two.

Mr. ARENS. And the essence of that affidavit was that you were not then a member of the Communist Party; isn't that correct?

Mr. DICHTER. Again I would like to——

Mr. ARENS. I assure you that is a perfectly innocent question. The essence of the affidavit is that you were not at the time of signing the affidavit a Communist; isn't that correct?

I am not asking you now whether you were a Communist at the time you signed the affidavit. I am only asking you, for the purpose of the record, if the affidavit which you signed did not, in effect, state that you were not at the time of the signing a Communist?

Mr. DICHTER. Sir, I would like to invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Normally, we would insist on an answer to that question, but in view of the fact that you are without counsel, I shall not ask the chairman to direct you to answer.

Did you take any official action immediately prior to the signing of the non-Communist affidavit in accordance with the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act?

Mr. DICHTER. I am again invoking the privilege of the fifth.

Mr. ARENS. Did you resign technical membership in the Communist Party immediately prior to signing the affidavit?

Mr. DICHTER. I am invoking the privilege of the fifth, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Where are the 2,700 members in Connecticut; in what entities do they labor?

Mr. DICHTER. In Stamford, Conn.; Ansonia, Conn.; Torrington, Conn., and in Thomaston, Conn.

Mr. ARENS. Who are the other officials of the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers in this area?

Mr. DICHTER. We have no other officials. We have international representatives.

Mr. Henry Rapuna, Mr. Edward Coleman——

Mr. ARENS. Where is Mr. Henry Rapuna located?

Mr. DICHTER. In Ansonia, Conn.

Mr. ARENS. What is his position?

Mr. DICHTER. He is an international representative.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know whether or not he signed a Taft-Hartley non-Communist affidavit?

Mr. DICHTER. Again I want to invoke the privilege of the fifth on this.

Mr. ARENS. What is the other person's name?

Mr. DICHTER. Mr. Edward Coleman.

Mr. ARENS. Where is he located?

Mr. DICHTER. Ansonia; that is where our headquarters are.

Mr. ARENS. In what type of work are the men engaged who are members of the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers?

Mr. DICHTER. In brass fabricating, sir.

Mr. ARENS. In what plants?

Mr. DICHTER. The American Brass Co., Ansonia, and Torrington; the Plume & Atwood Co. in Thomaston, Conn.; and the Stamford Rolling Mills Co., in Stamford.

Mr. ARENS. Does the shop steward system prevail in the operations of the International Union of Mine, Mills, and Smelter Workers?

Mr. DICHTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Under the shop steward system, a person who is a member of the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers has access to all employees of that particular shop in which he is engaged; is that not correct?

Mr. DICHTER. Well, I don't know whether he has access to all the employees. He services the employees in his department.

Mr. ARENS. He has access to the physical facilities of the plant?

Mr. DICHTER. He is an employee of the company; yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. He is an elected official of the local organization, is he not?

Mr. DICHTER. Yes; he is.

Mr. ARENS. In practice, the officials from top to bottom generally are in concert and companionship as they are in a political party; is that not correct?

Mr. DICHTER. Sometimes they are, sir, and sometimes not.

Mr. ARENS. What is the system that now prevails in Connecticut in that respect?

Mr. DICHTER. They are elected by the people in their departments.

Mr. ARENS. By and large, are the shop stewards of the same bent or same allegiances as those in the higher echelon in the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers?

Mr. DICHTER. Sir, there are so many variations——

Mr. ARENS. How many shop stewards are there?

Mr. DICHTER. I have to think about this for a moment.

Mr. ARENS. What is your best estimate?

Mr. DICHTER. My best estimate is that there are probably about 105 or 110 total shop stewards, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Now tell this committee whether or not Henry Rapuna is, to your certain knowledge, a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. DICHTER. I invoke the privilege of the fifth, sir.

Mr. ARENS. You understand, do you not, that if you honestly apprehend that an answer to that question, if truthfully given, could be used against you in a criminal proceeding, you have the right to invoke the privilege?

Mr. DICHTER. I am trying to understand these proceedings to the best of my ability.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us whether or not the second gentleman you mentioned, Edward Coleman, is to your certain knowledge a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. DICHTER. Again I want to invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know Maurice Travis?

Mr. DICHTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Who is Maurice Travis?

Mr. DICHTER. Maurice Travis is the former secretary-treasurer of our union.

Mr. ARENS. Where is he now?

Mr. DICHTER. Just at the moment, sir, I couldn't tell you where he is.

Mr. ARENS. What is his status with the law now?

Mr. DICHTER. Mr. Travis was convicted in Denver; is that what you are asking me, sir?

Mr. ARENS. Yes; if you have knowledge of his status.

Mr. DICHTER. That is his status.

Mr. ARENS. He was convicted in Denver of what?

Mr. DICHTER. I don't know what you would call it.

Mr. ARENS. It was not a traffic offense.

He was convicted in Denver of what?

Mr. DICHTER. The Taft-Hartley affidavit, sir. He false——

Mr. ARENS. Falsified his Taft-Hartley affidavit. He said he was not a Communist as an official of the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers, but he was; isn't that correct?

Mr. DICHTER. I want to invoke the fifth on this.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever served in a closed Communist Party meeting with Maurice Travis?

Mr. DICHTER. I want to invoke the fifth.

Mr. ARENS. What is the extent of control by the leadership of the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers over the organization?

I am not asking the nature of the control; I am asking the extent of the control.

Mr. DICHTER. Perhaps if you want to phrase it some other way.

Mr. ARENS. You phrase it your way, Mr. Dichter.

Mr. DICHTER. Well, every one of our members, sir, is an entity unto himself.

Mr. ARENS. Were you elected to your present post?

Mr. DICHTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. By whom?

Mr. DICHTER. By the membership.

Mr. ARENS. Is there an executive board over you?

Mr. DICHTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Who is on the executive board?

Mr. DICHTER. Mr. John Clark, president of the union; Mr. Orville Larson, a vice president of the union; Mr. Asbury Howard, vice president of the union; Mr. Albert Pezzati, vice president of the union; Mr. Alton Lawrence, board member; Mr. Ray Dennis and Mr. Chase Powers and Mr. Joseph Chavez.

Mr. ARENS. Are any of those men, to your certain knowledge, not members of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. DICHTER. I invoke the privilege of the fifth.

Mr. ARENS. Are you conversant with the investigation made by the United States Senate Internal Security Subcommittee 3 years ago of the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers when we had hearings and in which I happened to be a participant, centering in Denver, Colo.?

Mr. DICHTER. No, sir; I am not.

Mr. ARENS. Salt Lake City, Utah?

Mr. DICHTER. I know of them.

Mr. ARENS. Are you conversant with the findings and conclusions of the United States Senate Internal Security Subcommittee that the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers is controlled lock, stock, and barrel by the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. DICHTER. Sir, I did not——

Mr. ARENS. Are you conversant with those conclusions?

I am not asking you whether or not those are correct.

Mr. DICHTER. I am not conversant with those conclusions.

Mr. ARENS. Are you conversant with the fact that there was an investigation?

Mr. DICHTER. Yes, Mr. Arens, I know that.

Mr. ARENS. Is the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers controlled lock, stock, and barrel by the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. DICHTER. I am invoking the fifth on that question, sir.

Mr. ARENS. I put it to you as a fact and ask you to affirm or deny the fact that the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers, with 2,700 members in the State of Connecticut, is controlled lock, stock, and barrel by the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. DICHTER. I am invoking the fifth, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ARENS. During the course of the discharge of your official duties as an international representative of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, have you taken directions and orders from a person who, to your certain knowledge, was a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. DICHTER. I am taking the fifth, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Are you presently a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. DICHTER. I respectfully take the fifth, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a person by the name of Elsie Willcox?

Mr. DICHTER. I take the fifth, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a person by the name of Verne Weed?

Mr. DICHTER. I take the fifth, sir.

Mr. ARENS. You say you take the fifth. You mean, do you not, that if you gave us a truthful answer to that question you would be

supplying information which might be used against you in a criminal proceeding; is that correct?

Mr. DICHTER. I am sorry, I have to take the fifth.

Mr. ARENS. Do you honestly apprehend that if you told this committee whether or not you know Elsie Willcox and Verne Weed, you would be supplying information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. DICHTER. I am sorry, sir; I am going to have to take the fifth.

Mr. ARENS. If you do not so apprehend, I assure you I am going to ask the chairman to direct you to answer the question.

Mr. DICHTER. I so apprehend, sir. I get your point.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a man by the name of Harold Kent?

Mr. DICHTER. I take the fifth, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Kent, would you kindly come forward, please? Look over your right shoulder and tell us whether or not you know that man.

Mr. DICHTER. Are you talking to me, sir?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. DICHTER. I take the fifth, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Kent laid his liberty on the line before this committee and testified under oath that while he was an undercover agent in the Communist conspiracy he knew you as a member of the concealed board of the Communist Party in the State of Connecticut. Look him in the eye now and tell him whether he was lying or telling the truth when he so testified.

Mr. DICHTER. I take the fifth, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Thank you, Mr. Kent.

What publication is circulated here in Connecticut, by the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers?

Mr. DICHTER. Their union newspaper, sir.

Mr. ARENS. What is the name?

Mr. DICHTER. The Union.

Mr. ARENS. Is that the publication of which John Clark is the editor?

Mr. DICHTER. Well, I am not sure. Clark is the president of the union. I think the man assigned for editorial policy is a Mr. Pezzati, secretary-treasurer.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever served in closed Communist Party meetings with Mr. Clark?

Mr. DICHTER. I take the fifth.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever served in a closed party meeting with Pezzati.

Mr. DICHTER. I take the fifth, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Did you ever serve in the Armed Forces of this country?

Mr. DICHTER. No, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Why? What was your status at the time?

Mr. DICHTER. I am single-vision, sir. I can't see out of one eye, and, therefore, I was not accepted.

Mr. ARENS. I put to you as a fact, sir, and ask you while you are under oath to affirm or deny the fact that you are presently an agent of the International Communist conspiracy operating via the arm of the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers in this State. If that is not so, deny it while you are under oath.

Mr. DICHTER. I take the fifth.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that would conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. WILLIS. Any questions?

Mr. KEARNEY. Is your organization part of the CIO-AFL?

Mr. DICHTER. No; we are not, sir.

Mr. KEARNEY. Did you ever apply for membership in that great organization?

Mr. DICHTER. We were in the CIO, sir. We would like to be back in again.

Mr. KEARNEY. You would like to be back in, but would the CIO like to have you back?

Mr. DICHTER. Sir, that question I can't answer.

Mr. KEARNEY. As a matter of fact, your union was expelled from the CIO, was it not?

Mr. DICHTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. KEARNEY. Can you tell the committee the reason why it was expelled?

Mr. DICHTER. Well, we had some sharp differences with the CIO on a number of questions.

Mr. KEARNEY. Was one of them the issue of communism?

Mr. DICHTER. It didn't look to us that way at the time.

Mr. KEARNEY. But it does now?

Mr. DICHTER. I wouldn't want at this time to go into just what all the differences were.

Mr. KEARNEY. I did not expect that you would.

As a matter of fact, being truthful to yourself and to the committee, is it not a fact that the reason why you cannot obtain membership with the CIO-AFL is because your union is Communist-dominated?

Mr. DICHTER. Sir, we had some real differences with the CIO, and the principal difference was that we felt our union should be run by our own membership. We felt that they should decide the policy of our organization. At that time there were some differences in policy between us and the CIO, and that resulted in our being put out of the CIO.

Mr. KEARNEY. Now, as a matter of looking for information, the fact was, as I said, that while you desired to run your own membership—

Mr. DICHTER. No, sir; we desired our membership to run our union.

Mr. KEARNEY. Is that true? Does your membership run your union?

Mr. DICHTER. Well, sir, our membership votes on practically everything that comes before our organization.

Mr. KEARNEY. All 2,700 members?

Mr. DICHTER. No, sir. I wish we could get everybody to vote, but unfortunately—

Mr. KEARNEY. I think it would be rather bad for you if you did.

Mr. DICHTER. Sir, I would welcome it. I would welcome it.

Mr. KEARNEY. Well, what I am getting at, and I go back to it again; is it not a fact that you were expelled from membership in the CIO because your membership was Communist-dominated by your officers?

Mr. DICHTER. Mr. Kearney, I don't want to indicate my difference of opinion from yours. This has become the generally accepted idea as to why we were expelled at the time. We had differences with the

CIO as to any number of things. We had differences with them, as, for example, politics. We had differences with them on the extent to which they should intrude into the affairs of our union.

I am sorry that those differences were not resolved at that time. It has become the generally accepted shibboleth; that is what every paper writes, and that is ostensibly the reason.

Mr. KEARNEY. Has the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers ever denied that?

Mr. DICHTER. Yes, we have, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Dichter, it is a fact, is it not, that the reason given by the CIO for expelling the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers was that the CIO found, in effect, that the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers was controlled by the Communist conspiracy; is that not a fact?

Mr. DICHTER. Mr. Arens, I haven't read the official reasons. This is the commonly accepted reason, which is in all of the newspapers and everything else.

Mr. ARENS. Would you tell us, then, if you haven't read that fact, is the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers controlled by the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. DICHTER. I will have to invoke the fifth.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever announced to the membership whether or not you are a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. DICHTER. I will have to invoke the fifth.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know if Travis has ever announced to the membership whether or not he is a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. DICHTER. I will have to invoke the fifth.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know if John Clark has ever announced to the membership whether or not he is a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. DICHTER. I will have to invoke the fifth, sir.

Mr. ARENS. You recognize now, do you not, that you are under oath and you are subject to the pains and penalties of perjury if you do not tell us the truth?

Mr. DICHTER. Sir, I recognize that.

Mr. ARENS. When you are released from your oath here and your obligation to tell the truth, do you anticipate that you are going to announce to the membership, "Of course I am not a Communist. Of course I have never been a Communist, but I am not going to tell that witch-hunting committee I am not a Communist"? Is that what you propose to do?

Mr. DICHTER. Sir, I don't know what I propose to do.

Mr. ARENS. Why do you not stand up right now like a red-blooded American and deny that you are a member of the Communist Party while you are under oath?

Mr. DICHTER. Are you asking a question?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. DICHTER. I invoke the fifth.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that would conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. WILLIS. Call your next witness, please.

Mr. ARENS. Josephine Willard, please come forward.

Please remain standing while the chairman administers an oath to you.

Mr. WILLIS. Will you raise your right hand, please?

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. WILLARD. I do.

Mr. Chairman, may I respectfully suggest that the cameras be turned off? I am not very photogenic.

**TESTIMONY OF JOSEPHINE WILLARD, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL,
VINCENT ZANELLA, JR.**

Mr. ARENS. Please, identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mrs. WILLARD. My name is Josephine Willard. I live in Bridgeport at 44 Eric Street, and at present I am doing some office work.

Mr. ARENS. Where are you engaged?

Mrs. WILLARD. Where am I engaged?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Mrs. WILLARD. Well, I would like to—I feel that that question, in my opinion, violates my rights under the first, fourth, fifth, ninth and tenth amendments.

Mr. WILLIS. What is the question?

Mr. ARENS. Where she works. She said she does office work.

I respectfully suggest that the witness be directed and ordered to answer that question.

Mrs. WILLARD. I haven't finished my answer, Mr. Chairman.

I further decline to answer the question because I feel that the information sought by this question is a matter of public record available to the public generally, and I think that the question seeks to entrap me.

Well, those are my reasons.

Mr. ARENS. Tell this committee before we proceed if any Communist wrote your answer on that card from which you are reading?

Mrs. WILLARD. What was the question?

Mr. ARENS. Did any Communist participate in the formulation of that answer which you just gave to the committee?

Mrs. WILLARD. Did a Communist write this?

Mr. ARENS. Yes. Did any Communist formulate that answer which you just gave to the committee?

Mrs. WILLARD. I would like to consult with my attorney, please.

Mr. ARENS. Surely.

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLARD. I would like to invoke the first amendment and the fifth amendment on that question.

Mr. ARENS. Are you appearing today in response to a subpoena served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mrs. WILLARD. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Are you represented by counsel?

Mrs. WILLARD. Yes, I am.

Mr. ARENS. Will counsel kindly identify himself?

Mr. ZANELLA. Vincent Zanella, Jr., Bridgeport, Conn., 1115 Main Street, Bridgeport.

Mr. ARENS. Please tell this committee where you are employed.

Mrs. WILLARD. I decline to answer based on my previous reasons.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that this record be cleared and that the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question.

Mr. WILLIS. You are directed to answer that question.

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLARD. Do I have to ask every time to consult my counsel?

Mr. WILLIS. You may consult counsel any time you wish.

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLARD. What was the question again in relation to my employment?

Mr. ARENS. Where do you work?

Mrs. WILLARD. I invoke the fifth and first amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Now the record is clear that you have been ordered and directed to answer that question.

Mrs. WILLARD. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been employed in your present occupation?

Mrs. WILLARD. I decline to answer, based—

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully ask that the witness be directed and ordered to answer that question.

Mr. WILLIS. You are directed to answer the question.

Mrs. WILLARD. I decline to answer, based on the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. What was your occupation prior to your present occupation?

Mrs. WILLARD. Well, I was out of work for a year and a half.

Mr. ARENS. When were you out of work?

Mrs. WILLARD. Prior to going to work in my present job.

Mr. ARENS. What year was that?

Mrs. WILLARD. I refuse to answer, based on my previous answer.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully ask that the witness be ordered and directed to answer.

Mr. WILLIS. You are directed to answer the question.

Mrs. WILLARD. I decline to answer, based on the previous reasons.

Mr. ARENS. What was your employment prior to being out of work for a year and a half?

Mrs. WILLARD. I decline to answer, based on the previous reasons.

Mr. ARENS. Do you honestly apprehend that if you told this committee what your work was prior to the time you became unemployed for a year and a half, you might be supplying information which might be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mrs. WILLARD. I decline to answer, based on the previous reasons, and I also decline to answer because I believe that this question, as I said before, this information is of general knowledge, it is available to the public generally, and I think the question is seeking to entrap me.

I further decline to answer this question because I believe that this question seeks to elicit information which is beyond the scope of the permissible inquiry granted, authorized to this committee by congress-

sional resolutions, by the statutes, and by the United States Constitution.

Mr. KEARNEY. Just a minute; that is a very nice speech.

Mrs. WILLARD. I don't mean to make a speech, Congressman. I am trying to give my reasons for declining to answer.

Mr. KEARNEY. Well, we will give you 10 more minutes to make a speech if you want to.

Mrs. WILLARD. I don't intend to make a speech.

Mr. KEARNEY. How could that simple question, asking where you were employed, entrap you?

Mrs. WILLARD. Well, you see, questions of this type are available to the public generally. They are a matter of public record, and I don't know what you are going to lead into, and therefore I must invoke my privileges under the Constitution.

Mr. KEARNEY. If you do not know what we are going to lead into, why do you not invoke the fifth amendment on every question?

Mrs. WILLARD. It is my privilege. If I feel——

Mr. KEARNEY. It certainly is your privilege.

Mrs. WILLARD. If there is an avenue that I am not aware of.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the witness be ordered to answer the last principal question, namely, whether or not she has an honest apprehension with respect to the preceding question.

Mr. WILLIS. That question you are ordered to answer, and the Chair informs you, although you have counsel, that that question is a simple test of your honesty as to whether you are invoking the protection of the fifth amendment in a legal, constitutional way.

Mrs. WILLARD. What was the question that it was referring to?

Mr. ARENS. To clear the record, you were asked to give us the occupation in which you were engaged in a certain period of your life. You declined to do so and invoked the fifth amendment.

Mrs. WILLARD. I invoked the first and fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Yes, ma'am.

Then we asked you if you honestly apprehended that if you gave us a truthful answer to that question, you would be supplying information which might be used against you in a criminal proceeding. You have thus far declined to answer that last question.

We are insisting on an answer to that last question.

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLARD. Yes, my answer to that question is "yes."

Mr. WILLIS. Your answer is Yes, you do apprehend?

Mrs. WILLARD. Yes; I do.

Mr. ARENS. Ma'am, I will not ask you when but where were you born.

Mrs. WILLARD. I was born in Italy.

Mr. ARENS. When did you come to the United States?

Mrs. WILLARD. I came when I was 1 year old.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a citizen of the United States?

Mrs. WILLARD. Yes; I am.

Mr. ARENS. Is that by derivation or naturalization?

Mrs. WILLARD. My father died before we were able to derive it, so I became naturalized.

Mr. ARENS. When were you naturalized?

Mrs. WILLARD. I was naturalized in 1941.

Mr. ARENS. At the time you were naturalized, did you take an oath to support and defend the Constitution of the United States?

Mrs. WILLARD. Yes; I did.

Mr. ARENS. Did you have any mental reservations at that time?

Mrs. WILLARD. None whatever.

Mr. ARENS. At that time were you a member of an organization dedicated to the overthrow of the United States and of the Constitution by force and violence?

Mrs. WILLARD. I decline to answer, based on all my previous reasons.

Mr. ARENS. What was your employment immediately preceding this period that you will not talk about; this blackout period?

Mrs. WILLARD. I don't know what you mean by "blackout period."

Mr. ARENS. This period that is sort of shrouded in secrecy. What was your employment prior to the time you were unemployed for a year and a half?

Mrs. WILLARD. What is the period that is shrouded in secrecy?

Mr. ARENS. This period that you will not tell us about.

Mrs. WILLARD. About the year and a half, or now?

Mr. ARENS. The employment you had immediately prior to the year-and-a-half period of your unemployment.

Mrs. WILLARD. I thought I answered that question before when you asked me where did I work.

Mr. ARENS. Answer it again, please.

Mrs. WILLARD. Excuse me.

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLARD. I decline to answer, based on all my previous reasons.

Mr. ARENS. Please tell us where you were educated.

Mrs. WILLARD. I was educated in Bridgeport.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us the nature of your education.

Mrs. WILLARD. Well, what do you refer to?

Mr. ARENS. Did you go to high school?

Mrs. WILLARD. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Did you graduate from high school?

Mrs. WILLARD. No; I wasn't able to.

Mr. ARENS. How many years did you complete in high school?

Mrs. WILLARD. I believe I was in my fourth year when I had to leave.

Mr. ARENS. What year was that?

Mrs. WILLARD. I believe it was 1932. It might be 1931, but I think it was 1932.

Mr. ARENS. Please pick it up there and tell us your occupation immediately after you concluded in high school in 1932.

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLARD. It is rather difficult. It is quite a distance away.

Mr. ARENS. Just your best recollection, the first principal employment.

Mrs. WILLARD. I remember having to leave high school because my father was quite ill, and we helped him in the store, a hardware and bicycle store.

Mr. ARENS. Where was that?

Mrs. WILLARD. In Bridgeport. We have lived all our life in Bridgeport.

Mr. ARENS. How long were you engaged in the hardware store after you left high school?

Mrs. WILLARD. Gee, I don't remember.

Mr. ARENS. Would it be a matter of 4 or 5 years?

Mrs. WILLARD. Not that long.

Mr. ARENS. Three years?

Mrs. WILLARD. Possibly.

Mr. ARENS. Two years?

Mrs. WILLARD. I am not sure.

Mr. ARENS. As much as 2 years?

Mrs. WILLARD. I would say so, but I am not sure about that period.

Mr. ARENS. Then what was your next employment after you left the hardware store?

Mrs. WILLARD. Frankly and honestly, I don't remember exactly where I went to work. I have had several jobs in various factories in the city of Bridgeport but, if I were to give you an honest answer, I just couldn't tell you. There were several.

Mr. ARENS. What is the first job about which you do have an honest recollection?

Mrs. WILLARD. I know I worked but whether it's the first, fourth, or fifth, I really couldn't tell you.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us some of the employments that you have had.

Mrs. WILLARD. I have worked in Casco's.

Mr. ARENS. What is Casco's?

Mrs. WILLARD. Casco Products in Bridgeport.

Mr. ARENS. What is that establishment, please?

Mrs. WILLARD. They make auto cigarette lighters, one of the products.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us what other employment you had in, say, the late thirties.

Mrs. WILLARD. As I say, I am not going to pin myself. You say late thirties?

Mr. ARENS. Your best recollection.

Mrs. WILLARD. I do remember working in, oh, where they make parts for brake linings, Raybestos. I remember working there.

Mr. ARENS. What was your occupation there, clerical?

Mrs. WILLARD. No; I was doing some inspection work at the time.

Mr. ARENS. Is there another establishment that comes to your mind where you worked during this period of time?

Mrs. WILLARD. I really don't remember.

Mr. ARENS. Let us move on in the chronology of your life.

What is the next principal employment that comes to your mind?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLARD. I think, well the next period, there may have been other places, and I don't remember them, but the next period that I remember, I worked in the garment industry.

Mr. ARENS. Where was that, please?

Mrs. WILLARD. There were several small places in the city.

Mr. ARENS. Here in Connecticut?

Mrs. WILLARD. I worked in Bridgeport all the time.

Mr. ARENS. Has all of your employment been in Bridgeport during your adult life?

Mrs. WILLARD. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. At least focalized there?

Mrs. WILLARD. It has been in Bridgeport as far as I remember.

Mr. ARENS. What did you do in the garment industry?

Mrs. WILLARD. I was an operator.

Mr. ARENS. How long were you engaged in the garment industry?

Mrs. WILLARD. Well, we were unemployed so often, it was on and off, I don't remember.

Mr. ARENS. Was it into the forties, or are we still in the thirties?

Mrs. WILLARD. I would say it went into the forties.

Mr. ARENS. What was your next principal employment?

Mrs. WILLARD. That I decline to answer.

Mr. ARENS. Is there any period, beginning after 1940 until the present day, when you have been employed in an occupation you can tell us about without furnishing information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mrs. WILLARD. Would you mind repeating that again?

Mr. ARENS. Is there any period of your life after 1940 in which you have been engaged in an occupation concerning which you can tell us without giving information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mrs. WILLARD. After 1940?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Mrs. WILLARD. I told you I worked in the garment industry into the forties.

Mr. ARENS. How late into the forties did you work in the garment industry?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLARD. May I respectfully request that you ask the question again?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Is there any period in your life from the time that you left the garment industry until the present time when you have been engaged in an occupation concerning which you could not tell us without disclosing information which might be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mrs. WILLARD. In an occupation?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLARD. The answer to that is "No."

Mr. ARENS. Then every occupation in which you have been engaged since the early forties is an occupation concerning which, if you told us, you would be supplying information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding; is that true?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLARD. I invoke the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. I do not believe you understood it.

Mrs. WILLARD. Maybe. Perhaps you ought to repeat it.

Mr. ARENS. Is every occupation in which you have been engaged since you left the garment industry in the early forties of such nature

that, if you told us about it, you would be supplying information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLARD. I decline to answer—

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question.

Mr. WILLIS. You are directed to answer the question.

Mrs. WILLARD. I invoke the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Now, in the course of your labors in the vineyard, were you connected with the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union?

Mrs. WILLARD. I didn't get that question. Something about the vineyard?

Mr. ARENS. Well, your labors, your occupations. Have you been employed in the United Electrical Workers Union?

Mrs. WILLARD. Have I been employed by the United Electrical?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Have you been identified, been a member of, or affiliated with, the United Electrical Workers, UE?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLARD. I invoke the first and fifth amendments and all of the other reasons that I have given previously.

Mr. ARENS. Do you honestly apprehend if you told this committee whether or not you have ever been identified with the Electrical Workers, you would be giving information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLARD. The answer is "Yes."

Mr. ARENS. You have also been an author in the course of your career; have you not?

Mrs. WILLARD. I invoke the first and fifth amendments. I don't know what avenue you are going to get involved with.

Mr. ARENS. Have you been an author?

Mrs. WILLARD. In what sense, a formal sense?

Mr. ARENS. Have you written articles?

Mrs. WILLARD. I invoke the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Would you tell this committee now if you have a recollection about your happiest birthday? Did you have one birthday in your life that stands out as one of the happiest birthdays?

Mrs. WILLARD. I must confess, sir, that every birthday of mine is a very, very happy one and we have a good time.

Mr. ARENS. Did you have one that stands out in your mind above all others?

Mrs. WILLARD. It's not my 16th.

Mr. ARENS. Was there one that does stand out in your mind as being your happiest birthday?

Mrs. WILLARD. Well, I must repeat that all my birthday parties, and I have had them every year, have been very happy and gay ones, and I hoped everybody had a gay time. I know I always did.

Mr. ARENS. But is there one that stands out in your mind as being one of your most happy occasions?

Mrs. WILLARD. I always feel the last one was the happiest.

Mr. ARENS. Did you write an article about your happiest birthday?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mr. ARENS. Perhaps this might refresh your recollection.

I am going to lay before you an article which appears in a publication called Contact. Did you ever hear of that publication, Contact? (The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mr. ARENS. This article is entitled "My Happiest Birthday . . . and Why," by Josephine Willard.

For about five years I was the section chairman of my division, where about 300 women and 40 men manufactured the electric blanket. We are noted for having the best stewards, highest pay, and best working conditions of any division in the whole plant. This is no accident. We have led in every struggle for better working conditions.

As a member of the Executive Board for the past 5 years, I held many responsible positions in the union. I was chairman of the legislative and educational committee, editor of the shop paper, and publicity director during the strike.

What is a Communist?

In 1946, I ran for State Representative on the Communist Party ticket. While the majority of the people of my division and the whole shop knew I was a Communist, still some were surprised and even shocked. The stewards of my division—all non-Communists—decided that their people should learn what Communism is—not from a non-Communist but from a member of the Party. Two days later I was handed a petition with about 150 names, requesting a section meeting to answer the following questions:

1. Why are you a Communist?
2. What is Communism?
3. What is the difference between the Communist Party and a union?

More than 100 men and women attended the meeting. Non-Communists spoke during the discussion, saying that for the first time in their lives they had heard an explanation of Communism. * * *

Then the article speaks about Red baiting and hysteria, and the whole city buzzed with anti-Communist hysteria. Then it winds up with a birthday greeting:

"A Happy Birthday to our champion, Joe Willard, who labors day and night so that others may have life, liberty, and happiness. We of the second shift Automatic Blanket wish you good luck and the fullest realization of your fondest dreams."

I lay this article before you. I have read only a few excerpts from it, but I would like you to tell this committee whether or not that refreshes your recollection of your literary pursuits during the course of the blackout period, concerning which you cannot give information because it could be used against you in a criminal proceeding. Does that refresh your recollection?

Mrs. WILLARD. About my happiest birthday, you mean?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Mrs. WILLARD. I have had many happy birthdays. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. ARENS. Do you recall that happy birthday occasion that you wrote about?

Mrs. WILLARD. I refuse to answer that question, based on the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Are you the author of the article?

Mrs. WILLARD. I refuse to answer.

Mr. ARENS. I put it to you as a fact, and ask you to affirm or deny it is a fact, that you are the author of that article, and that you were a Communist and that this was written by yourself in the Communist publication, Contact. If it is not true, please deny it under oath.

Mrs. WILLARD. I refuse to answer that question, based on the 1st, 4th, 5th, 9th, 10th, and 14th amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Could you tell us some of your political activities during this period about which you do not want to talk?

Mrs. WILLARD. My political activities?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Mrs. WILLARD. I refuse to answer that question, based on the previous reasons I have just given.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever sacrificed yourself on the altar of public service, as a candidate?

Mrs. WILLARD. I refuse to answer that question, based on my previous reasons.

Mr. ARENS. Now I should like to lay before you a photostatic copy of an article appearing in the Sunday Herald of Bridgeport, Conn., February 23, 1947, "Commie Fight Linked With National Drive," in which, among other things, the following appears:

Mrs. Josephine Willard, who ran for State representative on the Communist ticket last November * * *

Would you kindly look at that and tell us whether or not you are the Josephine Willard alluded to there as the person who ran on the Communist Party ticket in November 1946?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLARD. I invoke the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Did you ever bring a suit against the Sunday Herald for defaming your character, saying that you were actually a Communist as they say here?

Mrs. WILLARD. Did I bring a suit against the Herald?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Mrs. WILLARD. I refuse to answer.

Mr. ARENS. You know, do you not, that if a person calls another person a Communist, and he is not, the one who calls him a Communist is subject to a libel action; do you know that?

It is a pretty awful thing these days to call a person a Communist. Now you know, ma'am, that as a witness before this committee you are entitled to certain pay. I think you get \$7 or \$9 a day, but in order to do so you have to sign a pay voucher. Would you care to sign that pay voucher while you are under oath?

Mrs. WILLARD. My understanding of the rules of this committee is that you only get paid after you are through testifying.

Mr. ARENS. Do you care to sign your pay voucher now?

Mrs. WILLARD. If you ask me to sign beforehand, wouldn't that be a violation of the rules of the committee?

Mr. ARENS. Would you care to sign that pay voucher now?

There is nothing in the rules about when you should sign it, but before we pay you, you have to sign. Would you care to sign while you are under oath?

Mrs. WILLARD. Why must I sign now?

Mr. ARENS. I ask if you care to sign the pay voucher now?

Mrs. WILLARD. You insist that I take my money first?

Mr. ARENS. I ask if you will sign your name to the pay voucher now so we can see your signature.

Mrs. WILLARD. You want to see my signature?

Mr. ARENS. We want to see your signature.

Mrs. WILLARD. I will be glad to do that.

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mr. KEARNEY. It is a very polite hearing, at least.

Mrs. WILLARD. He is very polite.

Where would you like me to sign, or does it matter?

Mr. ARENS. Right there where it says "Payee"; that is the voucher.

Mrs. WILLARD. How much is the witness fee?

Mr. ARENS. \$7 or \$9.

Mrs. WILLARD. Let me sign first so that you can see my name. Where does this tell about how much money we are going to get?

Mr. COLLINS. Right on the next page.

Mrs. WILLARD. On this sheet?

Mr. COLLINS. Yes.

Mrs. WILLARD. \$9, Mr. Arens.

Mr. ARENS. I do not know; Mr. Collins handles those matters.

Mr. KEARNEY. Whatever it is, you will get it.

Mrs. WILLARD. I signed, so I imagine I will get it.

Mr. ARENS. This is your signature which you have just affixed to this voucher.

Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that this voucher be marked "Willard Exhibit No. 1" and incorporated in the record.

Mr. WILLIS. It may be incorporated.

(The document referred to, marked "Willard Exhibit No. 1," was incorporated in the record.)

Mr. ARENS. Now I should like to show you a photostatic copy of a nominating petition for 1946 elections for State representative of the Communist Party, bearing the signature of one Josephine Willard. The first name on this nominating petition is Josephine Willard, 555

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN NEW HAVEN, CONN., AREA

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE
UNITED STATES

(Do not write in this space)

VOUCHER

(Do not write in this space)

Appropriation

[illegible]

Total

ment therefore has not been received.

Page: Josephine Willard

By _____

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ALLOWED

《周易》

Chittenden, Committee on House Administration

Paid by check No. _____ dated _____ 19____ on the Treasurer of the
United States at Washington, D. C., in favor of payee named above.

* Where a voucher is certified by a corporation or company, the name of the person writing the corporate or company name, as well as the capacity in which he signs, must appear. Example: "Chicago Edison Company, per John Smith," Secretary or Treasurer, or Manager of Firm, as the case may be. 16-30748-4 GPO

Westfield Avenue. I ask you if that is your signature on that document?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLARD. I invoke the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Would you care to compare the signatures and see if, on the basis of any past recollection, the two signatures look alike?

Mrs. WILLARD. I invoke the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that the photostatic copy of the signature on the nominating petition I have just presented to the witness be marked "Willard Exhibit No. 2" and incorporated in the record.

Mr. WILLIS. That will be done, and the document may be incorporated in the record.

WILLARD EXHIBIT No. 2

NOMINATING PETITION FOR NOVEMBER, 1946, ELECTIONS
UNDER THE TITLE AND DESIGNATION OF COMMUNIST PARTY

To place the name of the following nominees upon the official ballot or ballot labels for voting machines,
November 5, 1946, in the State of CONNECTICUT for office named:

FOR STATE REPRESENTATIVE -- JOSEPHINE WILLARD

686 WESTFIELD AVENUE BRIDGEPORT 6, CONN.

The undersigned being duly qualified electors of the State of Connecticut pursuant to the provision of the law and the statutes of said State of Connecticut, hereby petition and request the foregoing names of candidates and the foregoing enumeration of office, together with the designated witnesses signatures be regularly placed upon the ballot or ballot labels for voting machines at the election to be held November 5, 1946 under the party designation of COMMUNIST PARTY.

NAME	ADDRESS	WARD
Willard, Josephine	555 Westfield Ave.	

Mr. ARENS. Mrs. Willard, I lay before you a photostatic copy of a leaflet or flyer with a photograph on it. Unfortunately, the photograph is not too clear. Do you usually photograph better than this?

Mrs. WILLARD. I usually don't photograph well. That is why I asked the cameramen not to take my picture.

Mr. ARENS. This reads "Jo Willard, a workers' candidate for State representative. Vote Communist. Pull fifth lever."

It was issued by the Communist Party of Bridgeport, 231 Fairfield Avenue, telephone 5-2613.

Tell us whether or not you are the person whose photograph appears there, and whether or not you are the person alluded to in that exhibit.

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLARD. I invoke the first and fifth amendments, sir. Would you like to have this back?

Mr. KEARNEY. Was that a petition to run on the Communist Party?

Mr. ARENS. This last document, General, was a flyer bearing a photograph which was not too flattering.

Mr. KEARNEY. Is that a political party, the Communist Party?

Mr. ARENS. The preceding exhibit is a nominating petition for State representative on the Communist Party for one Josephine Willard, bearing a signature which, curiously enough, has a striking resemblance to the signature which appears now on the pay voucher for the instant witness.

Mr. KEARNEY. This Communist Party; is that a political party?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLARD. Did you ask me if I believe that the Communist—

Mr. KEARNEY. I asked, is the Communist Party a political party?

Mrs. WILLARD. To my understanding.

Mr. KEARNEY. Then why are people so secretive when they run for office on the Communist Party ticket that they always invoke the fifth amendment?

Mrs. WILLARD. You see, sir, the Constitution guarantees that we do not have to talk about our religion and our politics, and I feel that it is an infringement on my personal rights.

Mr. KEARNEY. I should think, for the benefit of your party, and assuming you are a member of the Communist Party, it would be rather hard to campaign on the ticket when you did not even know your own members.

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mr. KEARNEY. That would be in contrast, would it not, to the two great political parties of our Nation today?

Imagine if all the Democrats and all the Republicans were hiding in secrecy. How would these candidates running for office know who to approach to ask them to vote for them?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLARD. Mr. Kearney, I believe that there will come a time when people will be very glad and proud to tell about their politics, and many other things that they believe in, but it's rather difficult in a period of hysteria to go into things of that sort.

Mr. KEARNEY. Now that is old stuff.

Mrs. WILLARD. I hope it's old stuff.

Mr. KEARNEY. I read it in the paper this morning.

Mrs. WILLARD. I hope things will be better for everybody.

Mr. KEARNEY. I read in the paper this morning about a witness who I think was the first witness we had before us. He said that these hearings here today are worse than the Salem witch hunts.

How many votes did you get when you ran for State representative on the Communist ticket?

Mrs. WILLARD. I invoke the first and fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that in the presence of this witness, another witness be requested to come forward and be sworn.

Miss Rowena Paumi, would you kindly come forward?

Remain standing while the chairman administers an oath to you.

Mr. WILLIS. Raise your right hand, please.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Miss PAUMI. I do.

TESTIMONY OF ROWENA R. PAUMI

Mr. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Miss PAUMI. Rowena R. Paumi, 83 DeForest Avenue, Bridgeport, Conn. I am now a Bridgeport hairdresser.

Mr. ARENS. Miss Paumi, I expect subsequently in the proceedings today to interrogate you at length, but I should like at this time to ask you if you have ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Miss PAUMI. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. And over what period of time have you been a member of the Communist Party?

Miss PAUMI. Well, when I joined the Communist Party, it was in 1941, the latter part of August, but I first was a member of the Young Communist League in 1941.

Mr. ARENS. Then give us, if you would, please, just a thumbnail sketch of your career in the Communist Party.

Miss PAUMI. Well, I was in the Communist Party until the latter part of 1942, and then I became inactive.

Mr. ARENS. You were at that time ideologically identified with the party?

Miss PAUMI. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us what happened subsequently.

Miss PAUMI. Subsequently to that I broke with the party, and I was approached by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and they asked me if I would rejoin the party at their request, and I did.

Mr. ARENS. How long were you in the Communist Party at the behest of the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

Miss PAUMI. I was in until the latter part of 1945, and I had to become inactive because of the death of my parents. Then I joined again, in the latter part of 1948. I was reactivated by Mike Russo.

Mr. ARENS. You served in the party until when?

Miss PAUMI. To the week that I testified.

Mr. ARENS. In this year, 1956?

Miss PAUMI. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. From 1943 on, all of your service in the Communist Party was solely and exclusively for the purpose of serving your Government to procure information which was transmitted to the Federal Bureau of Investigation; is that correct?

Miss PAUMI. That is right, sir.

Mr. ARENS. As I say, I expect to interrogate you at length on other matters, but for the present I should like to ask you if, in the course of your service in the Communist Party, you had occasion to make the acquaintanceship of a person by the name of Josephine Willard?

Miss PAUMI. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Where did you know that person as a Communist?

Miss PAUMI. In Bridgeport, Conn.

Mr. ARENS. And in what capacity did you know that person as a Communist?

Miss PAUMI. When I first met her in 1941, I knew her as an executive board member of the Communist Party in Bridgeport.

Mr. ARENS. Do you see in the courtroom today the person whom you knew as a member of the Communist Party?

Miss PAUMI. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Would you please point her out to the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Miss PAUMI. She is sitting on my left.

Mr. ARENS. Is there any doubt in your mind?

Miss PAUMI. No, sir.

TESTIMONY OF JOSEPHINE WILLARD—Resumed

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mrs. Willard, would you please look at the lady who just testified under oath, and tell us whether or not she was lying or whether she was telling the truth when she identified you as a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. WILLARD. Her?

Mr. ARENS. Yes. Was she lying or was she telling the truth? Look her in the eye.

Mrs. WILLARD. Look her in the eye and tell her or you?

Mr. ARENS. Look her in the eye.

Mr. WILLIS. Tell it to your conscience. You are under oath before this committee.

Mrs. WILLARD. I refuse to answer that question, based on the first and fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. That will be all for the moment, Miss Paumi.

Have you, Mrs. Willard, ever known a person by the name of W. C. Mosher?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mr. ARENS. Worden Mosher?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLARD. I have to take the first and fifth, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Mosher yesterday took an oath and laid his liberty on the line and testified before this committee that he knew you when he served as an undercover agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the Communist Party. He knew you as a member of the Communist conspiracy. Was he lying or was he telling the truth?

Mrs. WILLARD. I refuse to answer, based on the first and fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Kent, would you kindly stand up back there, please, sir?

Would you please look over your right shoulder, Mrs. Willard, at that man and tell us whether or not you have ever seen him before?

Mrs. WILLARD. The one standing up?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, wearing the blue suit.

Mrs. WILLARD. I refuse to answer, based on the first and fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. That man laid his liberty on the line and testified under oath before this committee 2 days ago that while he was an undercover agent for the FBI in the Communist Party he knew you as a member of the Communist Party. While you are under oath, tell us, was he lying or was he telling the truth?

Mrs. WILLARD. I refuse to answer that question, based on the first and fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. I put it to you as a fact and ask you to affirm or deny it is a fact that you are presently a Communist.

Mrs. WILLARD. I refuse to answer that, based on all the reasons I have previously given.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that would conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. WILLIS. The witness will be excused.

Mrs. WILLARD. Thank you.

Mr. WILLIS. The committee will take a 5-minute recess.

(A short recess was taken.)

Mr. WILLIS. The subcommittee will come to order.

Counsel will call the next witness.

Mr. ARENS. Miss Rowena Paumi, kindly resume the witness stand.

TESTIMONY OF ROWENA R. PAUMI—Resumed

Mr. ARENS. Miss Paumi, you previously have been sworn and stated the facts respecting your Communist Party affiliations, did you not?

Miss PAUMI. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Now, would you kindly tell us the various posts which you held in the Communist Party, particularly while you were an undercover agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

Miss PAUMI. Well, at one time I collected dues for my group, and another time I served on the membership committee, on the press committee, and social committees; another time on the Browder Brigade. There were so many committees, I can't think of all of them at the moment.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly tell us the units, fractions, or cells of the Communist conspiracy to which you were attached?

Miss PAUMI. When I first joined the Communist Party, I was attached to the Decca branch.

Mr. ARENS. Where was that?

Miss PAUMI. Bridgeport, Conn.

Mr. ARENS. Decca Records?

Miss PAUMI. It was a small branch of Decca Records, consisting of

the members worked in Decca, Communists belonging to the Decca branch.

Mr. ARENS. Will you please do this: as you identify a group, branch, fraction or cell, will you kindly tell us the names of the persons who, to your certain knowledge, were Communist Party members of each?

Miss PAUMI. In the branch that I was in in Decca, starting in chronological order first?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, please.

Miss PAUMI. At that time, I recall they were myself, Harriet Goldring—

Mr. ARENS. Spell that last name and spell any name that is not easily ascertainable.

Miss PAUMI. G-o-l-d-r-i-n-g.

There was a Jack Finn.

Mr. ARENS. F-i-n-n?

Miss PAUMI. That is right, sir.

Mr. ARENS. What year was this, please?

Miss PAUMI. Oh, I would say in the latter part of 1941.

There was a Jack Wyman for a short time, W-y-m-a-n.

Mr. ARENS. Have you told us the principal leaders of the cell?

Miss PAUMI. Well, yes. It was such a small branch. Later we became the Decca-Columbia branch.

Mr. ARENS. Now, please tell us of any other units with which you were identified in the Communist Party.

Miss PAUMI. Later I belonged to Decca-Columbia branch, and after that we became the Bridgeport Club.

Mr. ARENS. The Decca-Columbia branch went through a transition into the Bridgeport Club; is that correct?

Miss PAUMI. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Can you give us the names of any persons who, to your certain knowledge, were identified with the Bridgeport Club?

Miss PAUMI. Mostly everybody in Bridgeport belonged to the Bridgeport Club.

Mr. ARENS. You mean most of the Bridgeport Communists?

Miss PAUMI. That is right.

You see, before we became the Bridgeport Club, I forgot to mention, we were a few branches, such as the North End branch and East End branch, and that didn't last long, and then we became one branch, which was the Bridgeport Club.

Mr. ARENS. Give us the names of those who, to your certain knowledge, were members of the Bridgeport Club and were Communists.

Miss PAUMI. There were Josephine Willard, Frank Peterson, Louise Sito, S-i-t-o, Esther Bailin, B-a-i-l-i-n, Frank Fazekas, Bill Pistey, Oliver Arsenault.

From the GE, let's see, now, there were quite a few from there.

Mr. ARENS. Have you given us the principal names occurring to you at the present time?

Miss PAUMI. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. How recently were you in the Bridgeport Club?

Miss PAUMI. Till 1945, when we had a transition then from the Communist Political Association to the Communist Party.

Mr. ARENS. Is there another unit with which you were identified in the Communist Party?

Miss PAUMI. Yes, sir. When I was reinstated in the latter part of 1948, I was put in the 12-B branch, and then from there East End branch, then from the East End branch we went back to a small group which consisted of the Yellow Mill Village, the Success Park, and 12-B together. Then we became a very small group which consisted mainly of a few people from Success Park, East End, and 12-B.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have a recollection of those who, to your certain knowledge, were Communist members of that unit?

Miss PAUMI. Yes; they were Lois Barnes in this latter group, Louise Sito, Mary Farkas, Addie and Harold Rogers in that group, and for a short time Jean Lindsey and Louise Sito were in that group.

Mr. ARENS. How recently did you know Lois Barnes as a member of the Communist Party?

Miss PAUMI. Until the time I testified in 1956.

Mr. WILLIS. That is this year.

Miss PAUMI. This year.

Mr. WILLIS. Just a few months ago.

Miss PAUMI. That is right, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Is there another group with which you were identified in the Communist Party?

Miss PAUMI. Yes; I was in a small group which was Pearl Russo's group. I was in with her for a short time.

Mr. ARENS. Where was that?

Miss PAUMI. That was in Bridgeport, Conn.

Mr. ARENS. Who else was in that group?

Miss PAUMI. Well, it was Pearl, myself, Emmett Sykes, S-y-k-e-s, Al Sutton, Foxworth, a man from the Brass and I forget his first name.

Mr. ARENS. Are those the principal persons whose names come to your mind?

Miss PAUMI. That is right, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Do you here and now identify each of those persons you have just named as a person who, to your certain knowledge, was a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Miss PAUMI. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Is there another group or unit with which you were identified?

Miss PAUMI. Well, the East End, which was the East End branch, consisting of Yellow Mill Village and the 12-B. There were quite a few in that branch and they were—I recall some of them at this time, they were Mike and Grace Yuchnick—

Mr. ARENS. Spell that last name, please, ma'am. At least give us a phonetic spelling.

Miss PAUMI. Y-u-c-h-n-i-c-k. There was a Joe Thompson, and I can't seem to recall all of them at this time who were in that branch.

Mr. ARENS. Did you have an affiliation with the State entity of the Communist Party?

Miss PAUMI. Well, I was asked to sit in on some of the State committee meetings.

Mr. ARENS. Were those closed meetings?

Miss PAUMI. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Permissible only to Communists?

Miss PAUMI. That is right, sir.

Mr. ARENS. To your certain knowledge, are there other persons, not identified during these proceedings, who were members of the Communist conspiracy, Statewise?

Miss PAUMI. No, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have information respecting the activities and techniques of the Communist Party underground in Connecticut?

Miss PAUMI. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Give us a brief description of the functions and activities of the underground operations of the Communist Party in Connecticut.

Miss PAUMI. Well, I believe they started in 1950, around the time of the first arrest of the 10—11, it was. When they were first arrested, we started to take security measures. We were told not to use the phones for contact because they were always afraid somebody would tap the phones, and we were contacted. At any closed meetings, we were contacted personally. We weren't using the mail as much as we had used it previously. If it was an open meeting, we would send fliers out, or letters, at that time, and also, if it was a closed meeting, they would call us up and say to be at somebody's house at a certain time. We would be picked up and then we would go to the meeting, wherever it was.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have any information respecting change of identity, appearance of any of the comrades?

Miss PAUMI. I have known of instances where some tried.

Mr. ARENS. Could you give us a few illustrations of that?

Miss PAUMI. I do know of one instance where I was asked to change the appearance of one of the leaders of the Communist Party in Connecticut.

Mr. ARENS. Did you have any information respecting an alert to the comrades in the area that the House Committee on Un-American Activities proposed to come to this area a few years ago?

Miss PAUMI. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us about that.

Miss PAUMI. We were told at that time that if anyone approached us from the House Un-American Activities Committee, or any kind of investigation committee that we should contact our lawyer, which was Sam Gruber at that time.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know whether or not Sam Gruber was a member of the Communist Party?

Miss PAUMI. Well, I have seen him at one closed party meeting.

Mr. ARENS. Was that meeting open only to people who were Communists?

Miss PAUMI. As far as I know; yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Is there any other information you care to give us with respect to the proposed visit by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Miss PAUMI. That is all, sir, I could think of right now.

Mr. ARENS. What is the objective of the Communist Party?

Miss PAUMI. Well, the objective of the Communist Party is to—their main concentration was in the industrial plants to get as many Communist Party members in industrial plants so that we could recruit more members into the Communist Party, and also the Communist Party feels that socialism will be here very soon.

Mr. ARENS. By socialism, they mean communism, do they not?

Miss PAUMI. Communism. We were taught at a recent class, I would say in 1953, that war was inevitable between communism and capitalism.

Mr. ARENS. How serious is the Communist conspiracy, particularly in the Connecticut area of which you have knowledge?

Miss PAUMI. To my knowledge, I would say it is a serious threat to the industrial part of Connecticut and to the United States.

Mr. ARENS. Miss Paumi, you at one time actually were ideologically identified with the Communist Party, were you not?

Miss PAUMI. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Could you tell this committee in a casual way, informal way, what makes a Communist?

Miss PAUMI. Well, I would say that if they were the intellectual type of person, I would say that it is a change for them; that they want to see a change, and that is their way out. Also, I would say it is a person who has had some disappointment in life or has some sort of complex or has something in their background that they want to hide, and where they are not welcome in society.

Mr. ARENS. Are they dedicated?

Miss PAUMI. I would say 90 percent are dedicated, but some are not.

Mr. ARENS. Is there any doubt in their minds but that they are going to overthrow the Government of the United States and eventually control the world?

Miss PAUMI. I wouldn't say that there is any doubt in their minds about that. I think they believe that.

Mr. ARENS. Did you, during the course of your experience in the Communist Party, know a person by the name of Elsie Willcox?

Miss PAUMI. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know her as a Communist?

Miss PAUMI. I couldn't say for sure whether she was or not.

Mr. ARENS. Did you ever attend meetings with her?

Miss PAUMI. I have attended many meetings with her, but they were the Connecticut Peace Council.

Mr. ARENS. Those were open meetings?

Miss PAUMI. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Did you have occasion to know a person by the name of Verne Weed?

Miss PAUMI. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know her as a Communist?

Miss PAUMI. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Did you attend closed party meetings with her?

Miss PAUMI. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Do you here and now identify her as a person who, to your certain knowledge, was a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Miss PAUMI. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know a person by the name of Bernie Burg?

Miss PAUMI. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know him as a Communist?

Miss PAUMI. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Do you here and now identify him as a person who, to your certain knowledge, was known by you to be a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Miss PAUMI. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know Lois Barnes?

Miss PAUMI. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know her as a Communist?

Miss PAUMI. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. How recently did you know her as a Communist?

Miss PAUMI. Until 1956.

Mr. ARENS. Did you serve in closed party meetings with her?

Miss PAUMI. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know a person by the name of Saul Kreas?

Miss PAUMI. I knew him. I saw him at the convention in 1945.

Mr. ARENS. Open convention meetings or closed convention meetings?

Miss PAUMI. It was a Communist convention, but they were open to guests.

Mr. ARENS. How recently was this?

Miss PAUMI. This was in 1945.

Mr. ARENS. Do you recall the approximate season of 1945?

Miss PAUMI. That was in the summer.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that would conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. WILLIS. General Kearney?

Mr. KEARNEY. Just one question.

Is there any doubt in your mind that the Communist Party of our country is a part and parcel of the International Communist conspiracy?

Miss PAUMI. There is no doubt in my mind about that.

Mr. ARENS. Have you information as to any fronts which were controlled by the Communist Party during your experience in Connecticut?

Miss PAUMI. Yes, sir. They were the Civil Rights Congress, the Connecticut Peace Council. Then at times, whenever the occasion arose, we formed a different committee, like the Aid to the Wives of the Smith Act Victims, then the Amnesty Committee, and then the Smith Act Committee, and also the recent one was the Connecticut Volunteers for Civil Rights and the Connecticut Peace Council.

Mr. ARENS. Thank you very much.

That will conclude the staff interrogation, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WILLIS. Was there a chapter here, or movement, an organization, to raise funds to secure justice for the Rosenbergs?

Miss PAUMI. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. Will you describe some of the functions of that particular group, because this was the subject of quite a searching investigation by this committee in Washington. We found that, nationwide, all the hullabaloo about the organization was to secure a pardon for

the Rosenbergs, who, of course, passed atomic secrets to the Soviets, and it developed that the head people of the organizations were strictly controlled, inspired, and used by the Communist conspiracy.

I am wondering if you could tell us a few words about the chapter here in this area.

Miss PAUMI. Well, during the time of the Rosenberg trial, we were asked to send some money to the fund, or whatever we could spare. There were so many funds going on that sometimes it was difficult to spread your money to different fund drives that were going on.

We were also asked to picket the White House.

Mr. WILLIS. Did you go to Washington?

Miss PAUMI. Yes, sir; I did.

Mr. WILLIS. You may have been one of those I saw with my own eyes, a bunch of Commies, picketing the President's residence, the President of the United States.

Tell us, how did you happen to go?

Miss PAUMI. We had a drive on at that time to get all the members of the Communist Party, and some of the members of the Connecticut Peace Council also went. Every day we had different people going from Connecticut to picket, and every day there was a picket line around there.

I remember I went at night, 6 o'clock in the morning on a Saturday, and got there about 9 o'clock in the morning, and we walked till about 5 or 6 o'clock, and then we went home. But that is the way it worked, with different groups going every day.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you recall any of the people who went with you by bus?

Miss PAUMI. I recall that nearly everyone in Connecticut who belonged to the party went.

Mr. KEARNEY. Was the witness, Richter, who created a demonstration in the courtroom yesterday, one of the picketers?

Miss PAUMI. Well, I don't know if he went, but I do know his wife went down one day; Charlotte did.

Mr. KEARNEY. In other words, he let others do the dirty work for him.

Miss PAUMI. He may have gone, but I don't remember if he did.

Mr. KEARNEY. I did not mean to interrupt the chairman here, but we did have, as he said, a very extensive investigation. I was quite interested in the drive for funds in the State of Connecticut, or the reason, and I can stand corrected on this.

I was informed, after the searching inquiry, that over \$500,000 was collected for this campaign, justice for the Rosenbergs, and out of that \$500,000, \$1,300 was left to the children. Where did the rest of the money go?

Miss PAUMI. Well, they claim that they used it for literature and for the lawyer, for propaganda.

Mr. WILLIS. And, actually, part of the propaganda was to raise funds for the education of those children whom they paraded before TV in Washington and elsewhere?

Miss PAUMI. That is correct.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you remember who had charge or made a bus tour from here?

Miss PAUMI. I don't know who had charge of the bus, but I do know that it seemed like everybody had charge of everything. I know when I was approached to go for picketing, I was contacted by 2 or 3 different people at that time. I know that I went down with the Weinbergs. I was at the Weinbergs' home that night and I saw——

Mr. WILLIS. Do you recall any ladies beside yourself?

Miss PAUMI. Who went that particular day?

Mr. WILLIS. Yes; the leader of the group.

Miss PAUMI. Let's see. The day that I went, I went down with Sam Tomach, and Joe Barnes, and a fellow by the name of Callanan, and Ida Sito, but she is not a member of the party.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you know others?

Miss PAUMI. I know Elsie Willcox.

Mr. WILLIS. What connection did she have?

Miss PAUMI. She was sympathetic to the Rosenbergs.

Mr. WILLIS. But she was on the trip?

Miss PAUMI. She was on 1 or 2 trips, that I know. She had told me that.

Mr. WILLIS. Was there anyone on that bus who was not sympathetic to the Rosenbergs or to the cause of communism.

Miss PAUMI. I wasn't on the bus, sir, but the car that I was in, we were all sympathetic at that time.

Mr. WILLIS. The purpose of the trip, and this was only part of a nationwide trek, was to pressure the United States to pardon the Rosenbergs.

Miss PAUMI. That is right, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. As a matter of fact, the people pressured two Presidents, first President Truman and then President Eisenhower; is that not correct?

Miss PAUMI. That is right, sir.

Mr. KEARNEY. And Members of Congress?

Miss PAUMI. That is right, sir.

Mr. KEARNEY. During the period that these committees were working in behalf of justice for the Rosenbergs, there were special trains coming into Washington, caravans of buses, and automobiles. Who paid for all this; do you know?

Miss PAUMI. Why, I imagine all the front groups for the Communist Party.

Mr. KEARNEY. Did they pay their own individual fares?

Miss PAUMI. I did. Some of the others, their expenses were paid, but I don't know who paid for them individually. Some paid and some didn't.

Mr. KEARNEY. Those who did not, who paid their way?

Miss PAUMI. Well, that I can't say for certain.

Mr. KEARNEY. The Communist Party?

Miss PAUMI. I imagine so.

Mr. WILLIS. Part of the hue and cry during that time, through leaflets and agitation and handbills, was that the Rosenbergs had not been granted justice and somehow they are two of the few people who were lucky enough to be able to have their case come before the Supreme Court seven times, and still they said they were being railroaded.

That was part of the propaganda, was it not?

Miss PAUMI. That is right, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. Is that the nature of the work done by the so-called front group?

Miss PAUMI. Yes.

Mr. WILLIS. In other words, the Rosenbergs were just typical of the current issues that they pick up and agitate about?

Miss PAUMI. That is right, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. Is that what you meant a while ago about these front groups which were created and put in front of the hard core leaders in the Communist conspiracy?

Miss PAUMI. That is right, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. That is the typical work of so-called front organizations?

Miss PAUMI. That is right, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. Now, you worked for the Government of the United States for a total of approximately how many years?

Miss PAUMI. Since 1943.

Mr. WILLIS. And you disassociated yourself from that work this year?

Miss PAUMI. That is right, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. Why?

Miss PAUMI. Because I testified and it became obvious.

Mr. WILLIS. In other words, you finally came out in the open as an employee of your Government?

Miss PAUMI. That is right, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. In fact, that is all you were; is that not true?

Miss PAUMI. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. You were in constant communication with the Federal Bureau of Investigation, were you not?

Miss PAUMI. I was.

Mr. WILLIS. And made periodic reports.

Miss PAUMI. That is right.

Mr. WILLIS. I suppose you realize, having been associated with the FBI, that you had been thoroughly investigated, too? Did you know that?

Miss PAUMI. I imagined I was.

Mr. WILLIS. You imagine that, do you not?

Miss PAUMI. Yes.

Mr. WILLIS. Now, it has not been the habit of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to put an ad in the paper or to send out telegrams that it is investigating communism or any other type of work in which it is engaged. It is not the habit of the Bureau to advertise that, is it?

Miss PAUMI. No, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. So when witnesses refer to you sometimes as an informant, that burns us up on this committee to hear you described simply as an informant without explaining the nature of the information you are supplying. You are doing it at the suggestion of the FBI; is that not correct?

Miss PAUMI. That is right.

Mr. WILLIS. This committee recognizes the high caliber and efficiency of the FBI. Some of the investigators on this committee are former special agents of that fine organization. One of them here, Mr. Ray Collins, is a former special agent of the FBI as well as hav-

ing had a brilliant war record as a fighter pilot. He sort of smiles when you people engaged in obtaining information for your Government are referred to as informers. In my book you are all right, and I speak for the Committee on Un-American Activities. We have been created by Congress; we come up for review by the Congress every year. We make our report each year. Congress has nearly always voted unanimously to provide the funds for our work.

We get used to jeers and sneers and insinuations and intemperate scenes, as we saw here day before yesterday, but we do not ever permit ourselves to be goaded into not continuing with our work.

I want to compliment you for the contribution you have made on behalf of our committee and others in making that work lighter and more pleasant.

Mr. KEARNEY. I do not think I have anything to add to that statement. I think that statement is powerful enough. These individuals talk about your being an informer, but in my humble opinion you have just done your patriotic American duty. You have more thoughts for your country than these individuals who come here and to other cities and take the fifth amendment. These are the people I call the fifth-amendment Americans. I have only the utmost contempt for them. If they have nothing to fear, they could testify, testify truthfully. They have the privilege, of course, and no one denies it to them. But you notice the form of their answers, time and time again, not only in the cities of New Haven, Washington, New York, but throughout the Nation. So do not be concerned about people saying those things.

Mr. WILLIS. Along that line, on the question of loss of employment, we read that people lose their jobs because they invoked the fifth amendment.

That is not an accurate statement. If anyone here loses his job as a result of his appearance before our committee, is it not more accurate to describe the situation, perhaps, that the employers so concluded because they were openly identified by live, true witnesses under oath as being, or having been, members of the Communist conspiracy, in addition to their invocation of the fifth amendment?

Thank you very much.

We are pressed for time and I think we will have to call another witness before lunch, if you do not mind. We must conclude today.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Joseph Barnes please come forward.

Kindly remain standing while the chairman administers an oath to you.

Mr. WILLIS. Raise your right hand, please.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BARNES. I do.

TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH BARNES, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, RALPH LOCKWOOD

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself, sir, by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. BARNES. My name is Joseph Barnes, and I live at 606 Trumbull Avenue, Bridgeport.

Mr. ARENS. Occupation?

Mr. BARNES. I am a set-up man.

Mr. ARENS. Where are you employed?

Mr. BARNES. Singer Manufacturing Co., Bridgeport.

Mr. ARENS. Are you appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. BARNES. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. You are represented by counsel?

Mr. BARNES. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Will counsel identify himself, please?

Mr. LOCKWOOD. Ralph Lockwood, 1188 Main Street, Bridgeport, Conn.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been employed at the Singer Manufacturing Co.?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BARNES. Six months.

Mr. ARENS. What was your employment immediately prior to the period of your present service?

Mr. BARNES. May I consult with counsel?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BARNES. I respectfully invoke my rights under the fifth amendment and decline to answer that question.

Mr. ARENS. How long was your employment which immediately preceded your present employment at Singer?

Mr. BARNES. May I consult?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir; at any time.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BARNES. Same answer.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that the witness be directed and ordered to answer that last principal question.

Mr. WILLIS. Yes. You are directed to answer that question.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BARNES. I would like to decline to answer the question, but I think that even to state my reasons for declining to answer the question may lead to further questions which might tend to incriminate me. I must invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. What was your employment immediately prior to the employment concerning which you cannot tell us without giving information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. BARNES. May I consult?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BARNES. Same answer; fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Where were you born?

Mr. BARNES. Springfield, Mass.

Mr. ARENS. When?

Mr. BARNES. February 9, 1920.

Mr. ARENS. Give us a word, please, about your education.

Mr. BARNES. I attended public schools in Springfield—grammar school, junior high school. I attended high school for 2 years and then left to go to work.

Mr. ARENS. When did you leave high school?

Mr. BARNES. In 1936.

Mr. ARENS. What high school did you attend?

Mr. BARNES. Technical High School.

Mr. ARENS. What city?

Mr. BARNES. Springfield.

Mr. ARENS. What was your first employment after you left school?
(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BARNES. I very respectfully invoke the protection of the fifth amendment and decline to answer.

Mr. ARENS. Was there any employment from 1936 until the present time that you can tell us about without supplying information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BARNES. No, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Is it a fact that all of your employment since 1936 is of such a nature that if you told this committee about it you would be supplying information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BARNES. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Were you ever employed at the Alfred Heckman Distributors?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BARNES. I am respectfully invoking my protection under the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Were you ever employed in an establishment located at 246 Old Post Road, Fairfield, Conn.?

Mr. BARNES. Same answer.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been identified with the Connecticut Volunteers for Civil Rights?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BARNES. I respectfully invoke my privileges under the first amendment and the fifth amendment and decline to answer.

Mr. ARENS. I put it to you as a fact and ask you to affirm or deny the fact that at one time you were the principal moving official of the Connecticut Volunteers for Civil Rights.

Mr. BARNES. I respectfully invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment and decline to answer.

Mr. ARENS. Have you been engaged in the dissemination in Connecticut of literature of some kind, character or description?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BARNES. I invoke the first and fifth amendments and decline to answer.

Mr. ARENS. During 1953, I put it to you as a fact that you were the literature director for the Communist Party for Connecticut. If it is not so, deny it while you are under oath.

Mr. BARNES. I decline to answer under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a person by the name of Harold Kent?

Mr. BARNES. I decline to answer under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a person by the name of Rowena Paumi?

Mr. BARNES. Same answer.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Kent and Miss Paumi, would you kindly stand up?

Would you please, Mr. Barnes, look over your right shoulder at those two people and tell us whether or not you have ever seen them before?

Mr. BARNES. I decline to answer under the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Barnes, Harold Kent and Rowena Paumi testified under oath before this committee that they knew you as a member of the Communist Party. Were they lying or were they telling the truth?

Mr. BARNES. I decline to answer under the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. For the purposes of identification, are you the husband of Lois Barnes?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BARNES. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that would conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. WILLIS. The witness will be excused.

Mr. ARENS. Mrs. Lois Barnes, please come forward?

Kindly remain standing while the chairman administers an oath to you.

Mr. WILLIS. Will you please raise your right hand?

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. BARNES. I do.

TESTIMONY OF LOIS BARNES, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL RALPH LOCKWOOD

Mr. ARENS. Please be seated and kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mrs. BARNES. Lois Barnes, 606 Trumbull Avenue, housewife.

Mr. ARENS. Are you the wife of Joseph Barnes, who just vacated the witness chair?

Mrs. BARNES. I decline to answer under the privileges guaranteed me under the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Do you honestly apprehend that if you told this committee whether or not you are the wife of Joseph Barnes that you would be supplying information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mrs. BARNES. I think I might. I don't know, but I think I might.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mrs. BARNES. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Are you represented by counsel?

Mrs. BARNES. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Will counsel kindly identify himself?

Mr. LOCKWOOD. Ralph Lockwood, 1188 Main Street, Bridgeport, Conn.

Mr. ARENS. Where are you employed, Mrs. Barnes?

Mrs. BARNES. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. What is the nature of your employment?

Mrs. BARNES. I decline to answer that.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been in your present employment?

Mrs. BARNES. Same answer as before.

Mr. ARENS. What was your employment immediately preceding your present employment?

Mrs. BARNES. Same answer as before.

Mr. ARENS. Where were you born?

Mrs. BARNES. I was born in Ware, Mass.

Mr. ARENS. Give us a word, please, about your education.

Mrs. BARNES. I decline to answer that.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question.

Mr. WILLIS. You are directed to answer that question. We are simply seeking information to which we are entitled.

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. BARNES. I went to grammar schools in Prescott and Greenwich.

Mr. ARENS. Are you used to speaking in public?

Mrs. BARNES. Well, do you want me to answer the question?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, please; answer this question.

Are you used to speaking in public?

Mrs. BARNES. Do you withdraw—

Mr. ARENS. I do not comprehend why you are so reluctant to raise your voice. You have been a public speaker in the past, have you not?

Mrs. BARNES. May I answer the first question?

Mr. ARENS. Answer the second one now. We will withdraw the first one for the moment.

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. BARNES. I decline to answer that under the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. You have been quite a proponent of peace, have you not, a very laudable objective?

Mrs. BARNES. I decline to answer that under the first and fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. You were chairman of the Bridgeport Women for Peace?

Mrs. BARNES. I decline to answer that on the basis of the first and fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. I put it to you as a fact, and ask you to affirm or deny it is a fact, that you were chairman of the Bridgeport Women for Peace.

Mrs. BARNES. I decline to answer that on the basis of the first and fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. You are not ashamed of being a proponent of, or a partisan for, peace, are you?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. BARNES. I decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. I should like to lay before you now a photostatic copy of an article appearing in the Communist Daily Worker of May 15, 1952, "Bridgeport, Conn.—400 Jam PP Election Rally for Peace at Bridgeport," which, among other speakers, has listed a Mrs. Lois Barnes, chairman of the Bridgeport Women for Peace.

I should like to ask you to glance at that article and tell us whether or not that might refresh your recollection as to any of your speaking activities and public appearances?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. BARNES. I decline to answer on the basis of the first amendment and the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that this document be marked "Lois Barnes Exhibit No. 1" and incorporated by reference in the record.

Mr. WILLIS. It will be so incorporated.

(The document referred to, marked "Lois Barnes Exhibit No. 1," was incorporated by reference in the record.)

Mr. ARENS. You have also been an author in your time, have you not?

Mrs. BARNES. I decline to answer on the basis of the first and fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you now a photostatic copy of an article appearing in the Communist Daily Worker, Monday, December 19, 1955, with reference to certain publications—

Mr. WILLIS. Do you mean the date of issue is 1955?

Mr. ARENS. December 19, 1955, with reference to certain publications which are available at a Workers' Bookshop, including publications by a Lois Barnes, and ask you if you are the person alluded to in that article.

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. BARNES. I don't recall ever being that Lois Barnes, I am sorry.

Mr. ARENS. Have you been a coauthor of any works with Ernest Hemingway?

Mrs. BARNES. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a person by the name of Harold Kent?

Mrs. BARNES. I decline to answer that on the basis of the fifth amendment?

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a person by the name of Rowena Paumi?

Mrs. BARNES. I also decline to answer that on the same basis.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Kent and Miss Paumi, would you kindly stand up?

Would you kindly look over your right shoulder and tell this committee whether you have ever seen them before?

Mrs. BARNES. I decline to answer that on the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Kent and Miss Paumi testified under oath before this committee that they knew you as a member of the Communist conspiracy. Were they lying or were they telling the truth?

Mrs. BARNES. I decline to answer that on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Miss Paumi stated that you were a member of the city committee of the Communist Party in Bridgeport from 1952 until 1956. Was she lying or was she telling the truth?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. BARNES. I decline to answer on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Have you had any employment since 1936 concerning which you can tell us without giving information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mrs. BARNES. This is an area which I don't wish to go into, and therefore I wish to say "No."

Mr. ARENS. Let us get this record clear.

You wish to state, do you, that there is no activity, no employment, in which you have been engaged since 1936 concerning which you can tell us without giving us information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. BARNES. Well, this appears to be a fairly innocent question, but I don't want to be led into an area which I don't wish to discuss because it might be something that I don't want to——

Mr. ARENS. Why would you not want to discuss it?

Mrs. BARNES. If it might be used against me in a criminal prosecution, of course.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I would respectfully suggest that would conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. WILLIS. The committee will stand in recess until 1:30.

(Whereupon, at 12:20 p. m., September 26, 1956, the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 1:30 p. m. of the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 1956

Mr. WILLIS. The subcommittee will come to order.

Counsel will call the next witness.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Sam Davis, please come forward.

Remain standing while the chairman administers an oath to you.

Mr. WILLIS. Kindly raise your right hand, please.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. DAVIS. I do.

TESTIMONY OF SAMUEL DAVIS, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, CHARLES HENCHEL

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. DAVIS. Samuel Davis, 24 Beverly Road; occupation, dental technician.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today, Mr. Davis, in response to a subpoena served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. DAVIS. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. DAVIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Will counsel kindly identify himself?

Mr. HENCHEL. Charles Henchel, H-e-n-c-h-e-l, 152 Temple Street, New Haven.

Mr. ARENS. Where are you employed, Mr. Davis?

Mr. DAVIS. Self-employed.

Mr. ARENS. Where?

Mr. DAVIS. Davis Dental Lab.

Mr. ARENS. Are you the sole proprietor of the establishment?

Mr. DAVIS. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been so employed?

Mr. DAVIS. Since 1939.

Mr. ARENS. And what was your employment prior to 1939?

Mr. DAVIS. As a dental technician.

Mr. ARENS. Where?

Mr. DAVIS. Well, I worked for close to 12 years at the New Haven Dental. Prior to that, I worked for 5 years at another laboratory, United Dental; is that right? It is so long back I can't remember.

Mr. ARENS. Where were you born?

Mr. DAVIS. Riga, Latvia.

Mr. ARENS. When?

Mr. DAVIS. April 26, 1904.

Mr. ARENS. When did you come to the United States?

Mr. DAVIS. July 1921.

Mr. ARENS. Were you admitted for permanent residence?

Mr. DAVIS. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a citizen of the United States?

Mr. DAVIS. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. By derivation or by naturalization?

Mr. DAVIS. Naturalization.

Mr. ARENS. When were you naturalized?

Mr. DAVIS. In 1930.

Mr. ARENS. Where?

Mr. DAVIS. In New Haven.

Mr. ARENS. At the time you were naturalized, did you take an oath of allegiance to the Constitution of the United States?

Mr. DAVIS. I did.

Mr. ARENS. Did you have any mental reservations at the time you took that oath of allegiance?

Mr. DAVIS. No, I didn't have any reservations whatsoever.

Mr. ARENS. At the time you took the oath of allegiance, were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. DAVIS. I will have to invoke my rights under the Constitution of the United States under the fifth amendment.

Mr. KEARNEY. We cannot hear the witness.

Mr. DAVIS. I will have to invoke my constitutional right under the fifth amendment on this question.

Mr. ARENS. Now tell us a word about your education. Were you educated in the old country?

Mr. DAVIS. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. How old were you when you arrived here?

Mr. DAVIS. I had very little formal education, what you may call it. I had the equivalent of a Hebrew high-school education.

Mr. ARENS. How old were you when you arrived?

Mr. DAVIS. Seventeen; 1904 to 1921.

Mr. ARENS. Give us, if you please, sir, just a thumbnail sketch of your principal employments since you have been a permanent resident of the United States.

Mr. DAVIS. Only at my profession. I worked for 1 week at a gas station when I came here, and I couldn't get a job at my own work so I had to work at a gas station for about 1 week. The rest I worked at my trade.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you lived in New Haven, Conn.?

Mr. DAVIS. Since I came here.

Mr. ARENS. Where did you reside immediately prior to coming to New Haven, Conn.?

Mr. DAVIS. Riga, Latvia.

Mr. ARENS. You came directly to New Haven?

Mr. DAVIS. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Did you have a relative here at the time you came to the United States?

Mr. DAVIS. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Who was that?

Mr. DAVIS. My sister.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever belonged to a labor organization?

Mr. DAVIS. I don't understand the question.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been a member of a labor organization?

Mr. DAVIS. A union, you mean?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. DAVIS. Well, I wouldn't call it exactly a labor organization because the dental technicians for a short period of time belonged to the jewelers union just for a very short time, 6 months or so, and then, belonging to the dental association, Dental Laboratory Association, I was affiliated with that organization, but otherwise I was not.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been associated with an organization in the State of Minnesota?

Mr. DAVIS. I was never there.

Mr. ARENS. Of what organizations are you presently a member? (The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. DAVIS. On this question I would invoke my right under the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Do you belong to any organizations which are of the nonsensitive variety, namely, those you can tell us about without giving information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. DAVIS. I would refuse to answer that on my constitutional right, fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a person by the name of W. C. Mosher?

Mr. DAVIS. I will refuse to answer that on my constitutional right of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Mosher testified before this committee that while he was an undercover agent in the Communist Party at the behest of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, he knew you as a Communist. Was he lying or was he telling the truth?

Mr. DAVIS. I still invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a person by the name of H. W. Mosher, the son of W. C. Mosher?

Mr. DAVIS. Same answer.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a person by the name of Rowena Paumi?

Mr. DAVIS. Same answer.

Mr. ARENS. Both Miss Paumi and H. W. Mosher testified that they knew you as a member of the Communist Party. Were they lying or were they telling the truth?

Mr. DAVIS. Same answer.

Mr. ARENS. What have been your political activities since residing in New Haven, Conn.?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. DAVIS. I would invoke my right under the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a presidential elector back in the thirties?

Mr. DAVIS. I will use my right under the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you now a photostatic copy of lists of the Communist candidates for November elections of 1930, 1932, 1934, 1936, and 1938, including a list of the presidential electors for 1932 and 1936, and ask you to look at that document and tell us whether or not you are the Sam Davis alluded to as one of the presidential electors of the Communist Party?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. DAVIS. May I have that question, please?

Mr. ARENS. Read the question, Mr. Reporter.

(The pending question was read by the reporter.)

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. DAVIS. On this question, I will have to invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that would conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. WILLIS. The witness may be excused.

Call the next witness.

Mr. ARENS. Emma Davis, please come forward.

Please remain standing while the chairman administers an oath to you.

Mr. WILLIS. Raise your right hand, please.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. DAVIS. I do.

TESTIMONY OF EMMA DAVIS, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, CHARLES HENCHEL

Mr. ARENS. Will you be seated, please.

Mrs. DAVIS. May I request that the television cameras be turned off.

Mr. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mrs. DAVIS. My name is Emma Davis, 24 Beverly Road; I am an office worker.

Mr. ARENS. Are you related to the witness who just left the witness chair?

Mrs. DAVIS. Yes; I am his wife.

Mr. ARENS. Where were you born?

Mrs. DAVIS. I was born in Poland.

Mr. ARENS. Are you appearing today in response to a subpoena served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mrs. DAVIS. Yes; I am.

Mr. ARENS. Are you represented by counsel.

Mrs. DAVIS. Yes; I am.

Mr. ARENS. Will counsel kindly identify himself?

Mr. HENCHEL. Charles Henschel, 152 Temple Street, New Haven.

Mr. ARENS. When did you come to the United States?

Mrs. DAVIS. I came here in 1913 at the age of 4.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a citizen of the United States?

Mrs. DAVIS. I am.

Mr. ARENS. Is that by derivation or by naturalization?

Mrs. DAVIS. By derivation.

Mr. ARENS. When did you acquire the status of a citizen of the United States?

Mrs. DAVIS. In 1923.

Mr. ARENS. Where are you employed?

Mr. HENCHEL. If the chairman would permit me to address the committee on this question for the purpose of making an offer?

I have an affidavit prepared and signed and sworn to by this witness as to her present employment. The only purpose for making this offer, rather than have her respond orally, is to avoid embarrassment, publicity, notoriety to her employers, who are two prominent surgeons in the city of New Haven and who are aware of the fact that she has been subpoenaed to appear here.

Mr. ARENS. Would you answer further the question as to whether these two employers are aware of the fact that she has been identified by three live witnesses, undercover agents for the FBI, as a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. HENCHEL. I have no way of knowing their knowledge.

May I ask that the Chair rule on that. I would like to submit the affidavit.

Mr. WILLIS. Counsel has a purpose in asking these questions.

Mr. ARENS. Now, please tell this committee where you are employed?

Mr. HENCHEL. May I make a comment for the record?

Mr. WILLIS. You are not permitted.

Mr. ARENS. Please tell this committee where you are employed.

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. DAVIS. Mr. Arens, I would like to have the privilege of presenting this in writing for the same reasons that my counsel gave.

Mr. ARENS. Now, please respond orally to the question. Where are you employed?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. DAVIS. I am employed by Dr. Maxwell Lear and Dr. Harry Noble.

Mr. ARENS. Where?

Mrs. DAVIS. 1172 Chapel Street.

Mr. ARENS. What capacity?

Mrs. DAVIS. Secretary-receptionist.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been so employed?

Mrs. DAVIS. Going on 7 years.

Mr. ARENS. What was your employment immediately prior to this?

Mrs. DAVIS. I was a housewife and a mother raising a family.

Mr. ARENS. What was your employment immediately prior to the time that you assumed your housewifely duties and responsibilities as a mother?

Mrs. DAVIS. I was an office worker.

Mr. ARENS. Where?

Mrs. DAVIS. In a dental supply office.

Mr. ARENS. Are you presently a member of the Communist Party?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. DAVIS. I decline to answer that and invoke my privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Are you presently under Communist Party discipline?

Mrs. DAVIS. Same answer.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever run for public office?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. DAVIS. I decline to answer and I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a one-time candidate for State treasurer on the Communist Party ticket?

Mrs. DAVIS. Same answer.

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you now a document which we have procured from the secretary's office of the State of Connecticut, listing the names of persons who were candidates for public office on the Communist Party ticket, November election, 1932, on which appears the name of Emma Davis as the candidate for the office of treasurer.

I ask you if you are that person?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. DAVIS. I decline to answer that and invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that this document be marked "Emma Davis Exhibit No. 1" and incorporated by reference in the record.

Mr. WILLIS. It will be so incorporated.

(The document referred to, marked "Emma Davis Exhibit No. 1," was incorporated by reference in the record.)

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you now a photostatic copy of a comparable document procured from the office of the Secretary of State of Connecticut, listing the presidential electors for 1936, and the candidates for Congress on the Communist Party ticket, including Congressman from the Third Congressional District, Emma Davis, 160 Gilbert Avenue, New Haven, Conn. I ask you if you are the Emma Davis referred to in that document?

Mrs. DAVIS. I decline to answer that and invoke the fifth.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that that document be marked "Emma Davis Exhibit No. 2" and incorporated by reference in the record.

Mr. WILLIS. It will be so incorporated.

(The document referred to, marked "Emma Davis Exhibit No. 2," was incorporated by reference in the record.)

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you now a nominating petition for November 1946 elections under the designation of the Communist Party, bearing a signature, Emma Davis, 458 Fountain Street, Ward 30. I ask you if you will kindly tell us whether or not that is your signature appearing on this photostatic copy of that nominating petition?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. DAVIS. Same answer.

Mr. WILLIS. Does counsel offer that document?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Mr. WILLIS. It will be appropriately marked and incorporated by reference.

(The document referred to was marked "Emma Davis Exhibit No. 3," and incorporated by reference in the record.)

Mr. ARENS. Mrs. Davis, do you know a person by the name of W. C. Mosher?

Mrs. DAVIS. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a person by the name of H. W. Mosher?

Mrs. DAVIS. Same answer.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a person by the name of Rowena Paumi?

Mrs. DAVIS. Same answer.

Mr. ARENS. Miss Paumi, would you kindly stand?

Mrs. Davis, would you please look over your right shoulder and tell us whether or not you recognize that lady standing there?

Mrs. DAVIS. I decline to answer and invoke my privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. That lady testified under oath that she knew you while she was an undercover agent in the Communist conspiracy. Was she telling the truth or was she lying?

Mrs. DAVIS. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. W. C. Mosher and his son, H. W. Mosher, both testified under oath before this committee that they knew you as a member of the Communist Party while they were undercover agents for the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the Communist Party. Were they lying or were they telling the truth?

Mrs. DAVIS. I refuse to answer that and invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that would conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. HENCHEL. May I note in the record that in 1936 Mr. Cretella was not the incumbent.

Mr. KEARNEY. Let me ask you a question, Counsel.

I understand you are a city judge in the city of New Haven.

Mr. HENCHEL. That is right.

Mr. KEARNEY. When you preside, do you allow attorneys in your court to carry on like that?

Mr. HENCHEL. We conduct our court in a more or less informal manner.

Mr. WILLIS. Next witness, please.

Mr. ARENS. If the chairman please, Mr. Paul Bloom kindly come forward.

Mr. CRETELLA. I might say to counsel, while I am not a member of the committee, I am most gracious to the chairman for his generosity.

Mr. WILLIS. Will you raise your right hand, please?

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BLOOM. I do.

**TESTIMONY OF PAUL BLOOM, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL,
CATHERINE G. RORABACK**

Mr. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Miss RORABACK. Might I request that there be no television or cameras?

Mr. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. BLOOM. My name is Paul Bloom and I live at 17 Asylum Street, New Haven, Conn. I am a clerk in an investment house.

Mr. ARENS. Are you appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Mr. BLOOM. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. BLOOM. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Will counsel kindly identify herself?

Miss RORABACK. Catherine G. Roraback, 185 Church Street, New Haven, Conn.

Mr. ARENS. What is the nature of your employment?

Mr. BLOOM. Clerk.

Mr. ARENS. In what establishment?

Mr. BLOOM. Brokerage house in the city of New Haven.

Mr. ARENS. What is the name of the brokerage house?

Mr. BLOOM. Gruntal & Co.

Mr. ARENS. What do you do as clerk at the brokerage place?

Mr. BLOOM. I handle the cash, I take in securities, and hand out securities, take in cash, and make out checks.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been so employed?

Mr. BLOOM. I have been employed in brokerage houses——

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been employed in the present establishment?

Mr. BLOOM. 1950.

Mr. ARENS. What was your employment immediately prior to your present employment?

Mr. BLOOM. I worked for Eisel, King, Labarie, Stout & Co.

Mr. ARENS. Is that a brokerage firm?

Mr. BLOOM. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Where is that located?

Mr. BLOOM. It was located at 177 Church Street, New Haven.

Mr. ARENS. How long did you work there?

Mr. BLOOM. The exact dates I don't know, because they succeeded another house and took over another house at the same time.

Mr. ARENS. What is your best estimate as to the period of time that you were employed?

Mr. BLOOM. I think it was 1942 or 1943.

Mr. ARENS. What was your employment prior to that time?

Mr. BLOOM. Before that, with Labarie, Stout & Co.

Mr. ARENS. Is that a brokerage firm?

Mr. BLOOM. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Was that located in New Haven?

Mr. BLOOM. Same address.

Mr. ARENS. How long were you employed there?

Mr. BLOOM. I think they came in, I can't recall, the late thirties, maybe 1938.

Mr. ARENS. What was your employment immediately preceding the employment in 1938?

Mr. BLOOM. Slepach & Co.

Mr. ARENS. What was the nature of the business?

Mr. BLOOM. Investments.

Mr. ARENS. Where located?

Mr. BLOOM. I think the address was 197 Church Street.

Mr. ARENS. How long were you employed with them?

Mr. BLOOM. Well, they had a partnership that broke up. I can't remember, maybe 1935 or 1934. I can't remember the dates.

Mr. ARENS. What was your employment immediately prior to that employment?

Mr. BLOOM. Prentiss & Slepach.

Mr. ARENS. What was the nature of the employment?

Mr. BLOOM. Investment house.

Mr. ARENS. How long were you employed by them?

Mr. BLOOM. I was employed by them since 1931.

Mr. ARENS. Where were you born?

Mr. BLOOM. New York City.

Mr. ARENS. A word, please, sir, about your education.

Mr. BLOOM. I attended grammar school 2 years in New York City, and the rest of my education in New Haven, at the grammar school, New Haven High School, and Yale College.

Mr. ARENS. Did you graduate from Yale College?

Mr. BLOOM. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. When did you graduate from Yale?

Mr. BLOOM. 1930.

Mr. ARENS. What degree did you receive?

Mr. BLOOM. Bachelor of science.

Mr. ARENS. I take it from the dates which you have enumerated that you went from Yale to the brokerage firm; is that correct?

Mr. BLOOM. At that time there was a big depression on, so I was unemployed for about a year.

Mr. ARENS. Then your first employment was with the brokerage firm?

Mr. BLOOM. Right with the brokerage firm.

Mr. ARENS. For the purposes of identification, are you the husband of Doris Bloom?

Mr. BLOOM. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. To what organizations did you belong when you were at Yale?

Mr. BLOOM. I didn't belong to any that I can recall.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Bloom, I lay before you now a photostatic copy of the Nominating Petition under the title of the Communist Party for Representative at Large, Michael Russo, containing the signatures of a number of persons. This is dated 1946, November, and it includes a signature of a person by the name of Paul Bloom.

I ask you if that is your signature.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BLOOM. I must invoke the privileges of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Did you ever live at 701 Howard Avenue?

Mr. BLOOM. I did.

Mr. ARENS. Was that in the fifth ward?

Mr. BLOOM. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the document be marked "Paul Bloom Exhibit No. 1" and incorporated, by reference, in the record.

Mr. WILLIS. Let it be so marked and incorporated.

(The document referred to, marked "Paul Bloom Exhibit No. 1," was incorporated by reference in the record.)

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you now a photostatic copy of a nominating petition for State Senator, on the Communist Party, Sidney S. Taylor, November 1946, bearing the signature, among others, of Paul Bloom, 701 Howard, and ask you if you can identify that signature.

Mr. BLOOM. I must invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a person by the name of W. C. Mosher?

Mr. BLOOM. I invoke the privileges of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a person by the name of H. W. Mosher?

Mr. BLOOM. I invoke the privileges of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. These two gentlemen under oath before this committee stated that they had known you as a member of the Communist Party. Were they lying or were they telling the truth?

Mr. BLOOM. I invoke the privileges of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a person by the name of Rowena Paumi?

Mr. BLOOM. I invoke the privileges of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Miss Paumi, would you kindly stand?

Would you look over your right shoulder and tell us whether or not you have ever seen that lady before?

Mr. BLOOM. Same answer.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Bloom, Miss Paumi testified before this committee this morning, and named a number of people, including yourself, whom she knew as Communists while she was an undercover agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Was she lying or was she telling the truth?

Mr. BLOOM. I invoke the privileges of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that that would conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. WILLIS. The witness will be excused.

Mr. ARENS. Mrs. Doris Bloom, please come forward.

Kindly remain standing while the chairman administers an oath to you.

Mr. WILLIS. Please raise your right hand.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. BLOOM. I do.

TESTIMONY OF DORIS BLOOM, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, CATHERINE G. RORABACK

Mr. ARENS. Will you kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation?

Miss RORABACK. May I also request that there be no pictures or television.

Mr. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation?

Mrs. BLOOM. My name is Doris Bloom, 17 Asylum Street, New Haven, Conn., and I am a bookkeeper.

Mr. ARENS. Where are you employed?

Mrs. BLOOM. I am employed by the Wrentham Co.

Mr. ARENS. Where is that?

Mrs. BLOOM. That is at 12 Whiting Street, New Haven.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mrs. BLOOM. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Are you represented by counsel?

Mrs. BLOOM. I am.

Mr. ARENS. Will counsel kindly identify herself?

MISS RORABACK. Catherine G. Roraback, 185 Church Street, New Haven, Conn.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been in your present employment?

Mrs. BLOOM. Six months.

Mr. ARENS. What was your employment immediately preceding the present employment?

Mrs. BLOOM. I was employed in another office as a bookkeeper.

Mr. ARENS. Where was the other office?

Mrs. BLOOM. It was called the Tom Thumb Novelty. They are out of the business, 1044 Thomas Street.

Mr. ARENS. How long were you so employed?

Mrs. BLOOM. About 8 months.

Mr. ARENS. What was your employment prior to that?

Mrs. BLOOM. Prior to that, I was doing temporary office work.

Mr. ARENS. Where was that?

Mrs. BLOOM. With the Manpower. I was on call.

Mr. ARENS. You mean the Federal Government?

Mrs. BLOOM. No, no; it's an organization called Manpower, Inc., where they call you for temporary office work and you are sent to different offices on a temporary basis.

Mr. ARENS. Prior to that time, what was your last principal employment?

Mrs. BLOOM. I only worked during the summer months because I have young children. I couldn't work other than during the summer months. Prior to that, I worked also during the summer in 1943, A. C. Gilbert, as a drill-press operator.

Then for 10 years prior to that, I did not work because I was raising a family.

Mr. ARENS. Where were you born?

Mrs. BLOOM. New Haven, Conn.

Mr. ARENS. Have you lived here all your life?

Mrs. BLOOM. I have lived here all my life.

Mr. ARENS. Can you give us a word about your education?

Mrs. BLOOM. I went to elementary school and graduated from high school in 1932.

Mr. ARENS. Did you graduate from high school in 1932 in New Haven?

Mrs. BLOOM. In New Haven.

Mr. ARENS. Did that complete your formal education?

Mrs. BLOOM. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Have you received any specialized training since?

Mrs. BLOOM. Well, during the war, 1941 to 1942, I decided to go to work in a factory, and I took a special course that the Government was giving at the time, a 200-hour course, on machines. I completed that course in order to be able to go into the factory and work, since I hadn't worked.

Mr. ARENS. Have you received any special instruction or courses other than those you have just recited to us?

Mrs. BLOOM. I have not.

Mr. ARENS. I should like to lay before you now, a photostatic copy of a nominating petition of November 1946, bearing the signature of a number of persons, nominating for the Communist Party for Representative at Large, Michael A. Russo. Included thereon is the signature of Doris Bloom, 701 Howard Avenue.

Will you kindly tell us whether or not that is your signature?

Mrs. BLOOM. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Did you live at 701 Howard Avenue in November 1946?

Mrs. BLOOM. I did.

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you now a photostatic copy of a 1946 nominating petition for State Senator for the Communist Party, Sidney S. Taylor, bearing the signature of a number of persons, including that of Doris Bloom, 701 Howard Avenue, and ask you whether or not that is your signature?

Miss RORABACK. We requested that no pictures be taken. I wonder if the photographers would be kind enough to respect that request?

Mr. WILLIS. Yes.

Mrs. BLOOM. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the two documents be marked "Doris Bloom Exhibits Nos. 1 and 2," respectively, and incorporated by reference in the record.

Mr. WILLIS. It will be so marked and incorporated.

(The documents referred to, marked "Doris Bloom Exhibits Nos. 1 and 2," respectively, were incorporated by reference in the record.)

Mr. ARENS. Mrs. Bloom, do you know a person by the name of W. C. Mosher?

Mrs. BLOOM. I invoke the privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mrs. ARENS. Do you know a person by the name of H. W. Mosher?

Mrs. BLOOM. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Each of these persons took oath and swore before this committee that while undercover agents for the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the Communist Party, they knew you as a Communist. Were they lying or were they telling the truth?

Mrs. BLOOM. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Miss Paumi, would you kindly stand?

Mrs. Bloom, would you kindly look over your right shoulder at the lady standing there, and tell us whether you have ever seen her before?

Mrs. BLOOM. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Miss Paumi swore before this committee this morning that while she was an undercover agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the Communist Party, she knew you as a member of the Communist conspiracy.

Mrs. BLOOM. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that would conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. WILLIS. The witness will be excused.

Mr. ARENS. Would Mr. Bernard Burg kindly come forward?

Please remain standing while the chairman administers an oath to you.

Mr. WILLIS. Raise your right hand, please.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BURG. I do.

TESTIMONY OF BERNARD BURG, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, CHARLES HENCHEL

Mr. ARENS. Please be seated.

Mr. BURG. I would like to request no pictures, and no recording for radio.

Mr. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. BURG. My name is Bernard Burg, 38 Allen Road, New Haven, and I am a salesman.

Mr. ARENS. For what firm?

Mr. HENCHEL. May I make the same offer for the record of an affidavit disclosing his present employers merely——

Mr. WILLIS. No; you may not.

Mr. HENCHEL. Very well.

Mr. BURG. Zemel Bros.

Mr. ARENS. What is the nature of that firm?

Mr. BURG. Electrical appliance store.

Mr. ARENS. Are you appearing today in response to a subpoena served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. BURG. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. BURG. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Will counsel kindly identify himself?

Mr. HENCHEL. Charles Henschel, 152 Temple Street, New Haven.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been known by any name other than the name Bernard or Bernie Burg?

Mr. BURG. No, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Where were you born?

Mr. BURG. Brooklyn, N. Y.

Mr. ARENS. When, please, sir?

Mr. BURG. May 8, 1920.

Mr. ARENS. And a word, please, about your education.

Mr. BURG. I attended grammar school and high school in Brooklyn.

Mr. ARENS. Did that complete your formal education?

Mr. BURG. Except for some Army courses.

Mr. ARENS. What year did you complete your training at the high school?

Mr. BURG. I was supposed to graduate in 1937; however, I had to leave and go to work. I went back and graduated at night and graduated in 1941.

Mr. ARENS. Where were you working in the daytime when you were going to school at night?

Mr. BURG. Brooklyn Navy Yard, New York City.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us, if you please, sir, the employment which you had after completion of your high school education in 1941.

Mr. BURG. Subsequently, I went into the service after leaving the Navy Yard.

Mr. ARENS. In what branch of the service?

Mr. BURG. Originally the Air Force, and finally the Infantry.

Mr. ARENS. Did you receive a commission?

Mr. BURG. Yes, sir; I did.

Mr. ARENS. As a prerequisite to receiving that commission, did you take an oath to support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic?

Mr. BURG. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Did you have any mental reservations?

Mr. BURG. No, sir. And I might say I resent that.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a member of the Communist conspiracy when you took that oath?

Mr. BURG. No, sir; I know of no conspiracy.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a member of the Communist Party when you took that oath?

Mr. BURG. No, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BURG. I might say that the Constitution protects my rights of political and personal association, and I further invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a member of the Communist Party at any time during the period of your service in the Armed Forces?

Mr. BURG. No, sir.

Mr. ARENS. When were you separated from the Armed Forces?

Mr. BURG. August 1946, separated with honorable discharge.

Mr. ARENS. What was your employment then, beginning in August 1946 or as soon as you could gain employment?

Mr. BURG. Salesman, house-to-house.

Mr. ARENS. What firm?

Mr. BURG. Fuller Brush.

Mr. ARENS. Where?

Mr. BURG. New Haven.

Mr. ARENS. How long were you engaged as a Fuller Brush salesman?

Mr. BURG. For approximately 2 years.

Mr. ARENS. Then your next employment?

Mr. BURG. I then worked for a short time for the People's Party of Connecticut.

Mr. ARENS. In what capacity?

Mr. BURG. Oh, I forget the exact title, but it was in relation to the election campaign for Wallace and Taylor in the Third Congressional District.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a member of the Communist Party while you were engaged as a Fuller Brush salesman from August 1946 to August 1948?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BURG. I believe that my right to political affiliation and personal association is being violated by this type of question, and furthermore, I must invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a member of the Communist Party on January 1, 1947?

Mr. BURG. Same answer, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a member of the Communist Party in August of 1946?

Mr. BURG. Same answer, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a member of the Communist Party at any time within a month of the date you were discharged from the Armed Forces?

Mr. BURG. I feel that once again my rights to political and personal association are being violated, and further, I must invoke the fifth.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a member of the Communist Party at any time prior to the period you were in the Armed Forces?

Mr. BURG. I believe that my political beliefs, as well as my religious views, are my own to hold personally, with no one having the right to delve into this, and I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a member of the Communist Party at any time during the time you were in the Armed Forces?

Mr. BURG. I said "No, sir."

Mr. ARENS. Did you resign from the Communist Party when you went into the Armed Forces?

Mr. BURG. This is a trick question. I must say that once again this involves my political and personal rights and I would take the fifth amendment also.

Mr. ARENS. What year did you enter the Army?

Mr. BURG. Summer of 1943.

Mr. ARENS. Do you recall the month?

Mr. BURG. Not offhand. It was in the summertime.

Mr. ARENS. Within a month?

Mr. BURG. Excuse me; may I consult with my counsel?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, you have that privilege.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BURG. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a member of the Communist Party any time during the year 1943?

Mr. BURG. I must say once again, even though you are making political associations seem to be a terrible criminal thing, I must invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Do you regard membership in the Communist Party only as a political activity?

Mr. BURG. I would like to know under what law that has been outlawed.

Mr. ARENS. Would you answer that question?

Is it your contention that the Communist Party is only a political party?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BURG. Yes, sir; I do.

Mr. ARENS. Well, then, tell us the political party of which you are presently a member?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BURG. Once again, this is delving into my personal views, politics, which I don't feel is the business of this or any other Government agency. I must invoke the rights of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Do you now belong to a conspiratorial apparatus?

Mr. BURG. I have never knowingly, and do not now knowingly, belong to any conspiratorial apparatus.

Mr. ARENS. Do you now belong to an organization which is controlled by a foreign power?

Mr. BURG. I do not now belong to any organization controlled by a foreign power.

Mr. ARENS. Do you now belong to the Communist Party?

Mr. BURG. I can see what your inferences are, Mr. Counsel, but because the position is relative between you and me, I must take the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. How were you engaged to work for the People's Party of Connecticut? Who assigned you that job, or who employed you?

Mr. BURG. I was employed—I don't remember the official body, but it was some official body of the Third Congressional District.

Mr. ARENS. Who was the person or persons who employed you?

Mr. BURG. I don't recall at this time who specifically employed me.

Mr. ARENS. How long were you engaged by the People's Party?

Mr. BURG. Just for a few months, about 5 months, I would say, approximately; a short period of my life.

Mr. ARENS. Who were the members of the executive board or the directors of the People's Party here; could you tell us?

Mr. BURG. Mr. Arens, this was a short period in my life.

Mr. ARENS. If you have no recollection of it, just say so.

Mr. BURG. I just can't.

Mr. ARENS. What was your next employment immediately after you ceased your operations with the People's Party?

Mr. BURG. Well, being out of work, and desperately in need of work, I applied for every job I could get, and the next job I got was working for a plumbing concern.

Mr. ARENS. How long were you so employed?

Mr. BURG. A couple of months. I don't remember exactly.

Mr. ARENS. What year are you in now, 1948?

Mr. BURG. 1948-49, around there.

Mr. ARENS. What was your next employment?

Mr. BURG. Detroit Steel Co. in Hamden, Conn.

Mr. ARENS. In what capacity?

Mr. BURG. As a machine operator.

Mr. ARENS. How long were you employed there?

Mr. BURG. For a year, just about; I don't remember exactly. I want to make clear that that is to the best of my recollection.

Mr. ARENS. Your next employment, please, sir?

Mr. BURG. After, I acquired my present job.

Mr. ARENS. The present establishment with which you work, this Radio Center?

Mr. BURG. It is known under both names.

Mr. ARENS. What is the other name?

Mr. BURG. Zemel Bros. and Radio Center, Inc., under both names.

Mr. ARENS. Have you, in the course of your employment in the Radio Center, used on a loan basis some of the equipment of the Radio

Center for any purpose for which you were not given remuneration or rental pay or compensation?

Mr. BURG. I don't understand the nature of the question, sir. You will have to be more specific.

Mr. ARENS. To be more specific, have you used some of the equipment of the Radio Center, such as speakers and audio equipment, for meetings, assemblages, under the auspices of the Communist Party? (The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BURG. I must answer that, to the best of my recollection on this, I have never done so.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a person by the name of W. C. Mosher?

Mr. BURG. Well, I must say on this that Mr. Mosher was identified as an informer during the Smith Act trial, and Jewish moral law forbids association with informers. Under that law I would be degraded. I also would have to invoke the right to the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. What would be your attitude toward Khrushchev? Is he not the greatest informer of all time, to inform on Stalin?

Mr. BURG. I don't feel qualified to comment on Mr. Khrushchev. If you want to have a political discussion—

Mr. ARENS. If you want to talk about the Communist Party.

Are you a member of the Communist Party?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BURG. Under the present circumstances, I feel this is an illegal invasion into my rights as a private citizen, and I must invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know W. C. Mosher?

Mr. BURG. I previously answered that question, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever had any information about, or association with, W. C. Mosher other than what you read in the paper.

Mr. BURG. I believe I previously answered that question.

Mr. ARENS. Answer it again.

Mr. BURG. All right.

I believe that my own personal associations are protected by the first amendment in the Constitution, and it is just a question of simple human morality of delving into private business, and I must protect myself by using the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Do you honestly apprehend that if you told this committee whether or not you knew W. C. Mosher you might be supplying information that might be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BURG. This is a question that has been asked of many people here.

Mr. WILLIS. Yes, and it is a valid question.

Mr. BURG. Yes, I am not denying the validity of the question.

Mr. WILLIS. You can put it any way you want, but we are just testing whether you are honestly invoking the protection of the fifth amendment. If you are honestly invoking it, you have absolutely that right.

Mr. BURG. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. But, in order to invoke it, you must be within the constitutional provision.

Mr. BURG. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. Which, in essence, means that you cannot be compelled to be a witness against yourself.

Mr. BURG. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. It will not do for you to come here and make little speeches in advance, because of this and that, and finally plead or invoke the privileges of the fifth amendment. The question is a perfectly proper one. You force it on yourself and you have to answer it.

Mr. BURG. In connection with speeches, I have heard speeches all day long by people on this side. I don't intend to make a speech, but because I feel the implications of this answer which I intend to give, it should be explained that some people were tried here——

Mr. WILLIS. You answer the question.

Mr. BURG. Can I then explain the answer, sir?

Mr. WILLIS. There is a very simple question before you and you know the constitutional provision involved.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BURG. I must say that not under any feeling or implication of guilt, the answer must be "Yes."

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a person by the name of Harold Mosher?

Mr. BURG. I believe he is the person I heard referred to by James O'Connor Shea as a sneak and paid sneak.

Mr. ARENS. Would you tell us, then, in addition to being a sneak and a paid sneak, was he a liar when he said he knew you as a Communist?

Mr. BURG. I must say that this represents an invasion of my rights and I invoke the privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a person by the name of Rowena Paumi?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BURG. Once again I must say that I feel that my personal associations are my own business, and I must invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. W. C. Mosher, Harold Mosher, and Rowena Paumi testified under oath that they knew you as a member of the Communist conspiracy. Were they lying or were they telling the truth?

Mr. BURG. I have answered this question many ways, many times, so far, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Answer it again so the record is clear as to whether or not you want to deny being a Communist.

Mr. BURG. I will say that once again I am not ashamed of my political and personal beliefs, but they are made to appear as criminal before this hearing. I must invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that would conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. WILLIS. The witness will be excused.

Mr. ARENS. May we have a 5-minute recess, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. WILLIS. Yes.

(A short recess was taken.)

Mr. WILLIS. Come to order, please.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Kreas, would you kindly come forward a minute?

TESTIMONY OF SAUL KREAS—Resumed

Mr. ARENS. We have here a letter from you requesting an opportunity to be heard with reference to certain statements you say were made by Mr. Mosher, which you wanted to deny under oath. We are presently in recess awaiting the arrival of the last witness of the

session here. I understand he will not be here until about a quarter of 4.

I want this record to show that we would be very glad to hear you now, but you have advised me unofficially that your attorney is not presently available. Therefore, the only other alternative we have is to hear you in Washington at a later date.

Mr. WILLIS. I think I should say this:

After the noon hour, I talked to Mr. Kreas' counsel, Mr. Bingham. At that time I told him we had six or more witnesses to be heard this afternoon; that I doubted very seriously that we could reach you; that, because we still have some outstanding subpoenas, witnesses who did not show up, that the chances are we will be hearing from other witnesses in this area; and that, therefore, the record will be left open and in due time we would hear from you and give you an opportunity to be heard again.

It develops that, since another witness is late, we are remaining here later than we thought, and we now find ourselves in a position to hear you. We still have about an hour to do it. I am not pressing you. I want the record to be perfectly clear to you and to the committee.

Mr. KREAS. I regret very much. First, I appreciate your attitude of giving me the opportunity to grant my request. However, without a counsel, I don't feel I should do it, and the counsel might have stayed here, if you would state to him what you just stated. He was definitely under the impression that the business you would have, you would not be able, and this is why he left.

So I accept the promise that you will give me the opportunity.

Mr. WILLIS. We do not know where or when that will be.

Mr. KREAS. Yes.

Mr. WILLIS. But we do have, how many outstanding subpoenas?

Mr. ARENS. Three that have not been served.

Mr. WILLIS. Three outstanding subpoenas, witnesses whom we have not heard from. This is a continuing investigation, and it is quite likely that there will be more witnesses to be heard, and at that time you will be notified.

Mr. KREAS. Well, of course, what I estimated it would take me only about 2 minutes.

Mr. WILLIS. If you want to testify, or even if you want to phone your lawyer, it is perfectly all right with us.

Mr. KREAS. Thank you very much.

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Kreas, would you want to phone your lawyer?

Mr. KREAS. I just want to inform you that my lawyer lives in New London, so even if I should be successful, it would take him better than an hour to get here.

Mr. WILLIS. All right.

(A recess of approximately 1 hour was taken.)

Mr. WILLIS. The subcommittee will come to order.

Counsel will call the next witness.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Samuel Gruber, please come forward and remain standing while the chairman administers an oath to you, please.

Mr. WILLIS. Raise your right hand.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. GRUBER. I do.

Mr. Chairman, I don't know whether there are television pictures being taken of me. May I request that they not be taken?

Mr. WILLIS. That is the rule, that if you object to television, it will be respected.

**TESTIMONY OF SAMUEL GRUBER, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL,
CATHERINE G. RORABACK**

Mr. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. GRUBER. My name is Samuel Gruber. My residence is Stamford, Conn., and I am an attorney.

Mr. ARENS. Are you appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. GRUBER. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. GRUBER. Miss Roraback.

Mr. ARENS. Will counsel kindly identify herself?

Miss RORABACK. Catherine G. Roraback, 185 Church Street, New Haven, Conn.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been known by any name other than the name Samuel Gruber?

Mr. GRUBER. I was served by the name Sam Gruber.

Mr. ARENS. Have you been known by any other name?

Mr. GRUBER. No.

Mr. ARENS. Where and when were you born?

Mr. GRUBER. November 11, 1906, Stamford.

Mr. ARENS. A word about your education, if you please, sir.

Mr. GRUBER. I graduated from high school in Stamford in 1923. I went to Columbia College and graduated there in 1927. I went to Columbia Law School and graduated in 1933, I believe. There was a hiatus there, as you can see, when I wasn't at law school.

Mr. ARENS. Where are you admitted to practice, please, Mr. Gruber?

Mr. GRUBER. In Connecticut.

Mr. ARENS. Is that the only State in which you are admitted to practice?

Mr. GRUBER. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Are you admitted to practice in the Federal court?

Mr. GRUBER. I am.

Mr. ARENS. Have you practiced continuously since you received your degree from Columbia in 1933?

Mr. GRUBER. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. You took the bar that year?

Mr. GRUBER. No. I took the bar 2 years later.

Mr. ARENS. Where did you take the bar examination?

Mr. GRUBER. Connecticut.

Mr. ARENS. As a prerequisite to being admitted to the bar, did you take an oath to defend and support the Constitution of the United States?

Mr. GRUBER. I am sure I did.

Mr. ARENS. Have you at any time since taking the oath to defend and support the Constitution of the United States been a member of an organization dedicated to the destruction of the Constitution of the United States and the forceful overthrow of the Government of the United States?

Mr. GRUBER. Well, Mr. Chairman, I would like on that to say that I think that that question is an unconstitutional invasion——

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Chairman, I would suggest that the witness answer the question and not make a speech.

Mr. GRUBER. I am not proposing, sir, Mr. Kearney, to make a speech. I have no intention of making a speech and oration. I merely want to give my reasons for declining to answer the question.

May I?

Mr. KEARNEY. As far as I am concerned, so long as it is not a speech.

Mr. GRUBER. It won't be a speech, sir. I decline to answer the question on the ground that, under the first amendment, it's an invasion of my rights of speech, belief, and association, and in addition, I claim the privilege under the fifth amendment not to be a witness against myself.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Gruber, have you ever been a member of the National Lawyers' Guild?

Mr. GRUBER. Yes, I am now a member.

Mr. ARENS. When did you join the National Lawyers' Guild?

Mr. GRUBER. I don't recall. I would think that it was perhaps 1940, to the best of my recollection, maybe a little later, maybe earlier.

Mr. ARENS. Have you continuously been a member of the National Lawyers' Guild since 1940?

Mr. GRUBER. If that is the date, yes.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever held an office in the National Lawyers' Guild?

Mr. GRUBER. No, I have not.

Mr. ARENS. Have you consistently paid dues in the National Lawyers' Guild?

Mr. GRUBER. Yes, I believe so.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that the citation of the National Lawyers' Guild, appearing in the Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, on page 85, appear at this point in the testimony.

Mr. WILLIS. The citation will appear in the record at this point.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

Cited as a Communist front which "is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions" and which "since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents." (Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report on the National Lawyers Guild, H. Rept. No. 3123, September 21, 1950 (originally released September 17, 1950).)

Mr. GRUBER. May I see what that is?

Mr. ARENS. It is the citation of the National Lawyers' Guild by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, pursuant to which the National Lawyers' Guild is cited as a Communist front, and in which it is also described as being the foremost legal bulwark of the Communists in their attempt to control unions, and which, since its inception, has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist

Party, and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.

Have you been a member of the Citizens Committee To Free Earl Browder?

Mr. GRUBER. The same answer to that question as to the previous one.

Mr. WILLIS. In other words, you are invoking the first and fifth amendments?

Mr. GRUBER. Yes.

May I, when I say—

Mr. WILLIS. It will be satisfactory. We are lawyers and there were intervening questions.

Mr. GRUBER. I meant that answer, and if I may, Mr. Chairman, I would like to use that in answering.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been identified with the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers?

Mr. GRUBER. It seems to me I have done law work for the Mine, Mill.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been a member of the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers?

Mr. GRUBER. No; I don't believe so. I was only their attorney.

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you a photostatic copy, Mr. Gruber, of the Communist Daily Worker, New York, March 16, 1942. I direct your attention to an article entitled "Unionists in Five States Say Free Browder," which lists the names of a number of persons who have petitioned for the freeing of Earl Browder, including a person identified here as Samuel Gruber, International representative, International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers. I ask if you would kindly glance at that article to see if it refreshes your recollection. Tell us whether or not you are the individual alluded to in that article. (The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. GRUBER. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Did you sign the petition to free Earl Browder?

Mr. GRUBER. The same answer, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Now please tell this committee—

Mr. WILLIS. The answer to the previous question was "Yes".

Mr. GRUBER. I am sorry; that is correct.

Mr. WILLIS. I just want the record clear. I do not expect you to repeat it word for word.

You mean again the invocation of the first and fifth amendments?

Mr. GRUBER. I do, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Please tell the committee the organizations to which you have belonged since 1945.

Mr. GRUBER. Since 1945?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. GRUBER. Well, if you would be more specific?

Mr. ARENS. You are a member of the bar association?

Mr. GRUBER. I am.

Mr. ARENS. Can you recall any other organization of which you were a member?

Mr. GRUBER. If you would be more specific—

Mr. ARENS. Can you now recall the organizations of which you have been a member since 1945?

Mr. GRUBER. Well, if you are asking about the Communist Party or any other organizations like that, then I give you the same answer as I did before.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us of any organizations of the non-Communist variety of which you may have been a member since 1945.

Mr. GRUBER. I didn't say that I was a member of any Communist organization, Mr. Arens; those are your words. I am trying to think of organizations that—

Mr. ARENS. You belong to the bar association here, you say?

Mr. GRUBER. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you belonged to the bar association?

Mr. GRUBER. I really can't tell.

Mr. ARENS. You belong to the National Lawyers' Guild. You have told us about that.

Mr. GRUBER. Yes. I have belonged to the bar association, oh, for quite a number of years. I just don't remember.

Mr. ARENS. At least since 1945; is that correct?

Mr. GRUBER. I would think so. I belong to the Stamford Bar Association.

Mr. ARENS. Are there any other organizations of which you have been a member since 1945?

Mr. GRUBER. At the moment I can't think of any. If you would be good enough to enlighten me, or if you have anything in mind, I would be very glad to tell you.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a person by the name of W. C. Mosher, M-o-s-h-e-r?

Mr. GRUBER. I know of him.

Mr. ARENS. Did you ever meet him?

Mr. GRUBER. Well, in view of the fact that, as I understand it, he has appeared here as a witness—I haven't heard him nor have I seen him—I would invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever seen him or have you ever heard of him?

Mr. GRUBER. The same answer.

Mr. ARENS. Did you ever hear of a man by the name of Mike Spencer?

Mr. GRUBER. Who?

Mr. ARENS. Mike Spencer.

Mr. GRUBER. It seems to me that I was representing a group in Washington who appeared before the—I don't recognize the name. I thought I might have. I am not sure.

May I, Mr. Chairman, ask a question of Mr. Arens?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, you may ask me.

Mr. GRUBER. I came in, and of course I knew that I would have to appear right away. I didn't have the opportunity to hear from you or to ask if you would be good enough to enlighten me as to what the specific purpose of this inquiry is.

Mr. ARENS. You do not ask that in a serious way, I am sure. This is the House Committee on Un-American Activities charged by the United States Congress to develop facts in connection with the Communist conspiracy. We are here for that purpose.

Tell us whether you know a person by the name of Rowena Paumi?

Mr. GRUBER. May I just say one thing before you go on?

The reason I raised it, Mr. Arens, was that I have read in the press that one of the reasons why this committee came here was

that it was a followup on the Smith Act trials, at which I was for a short time counsel. Now, is that so?

Mr. ARENS. Now kindly tell us whether or not you know a person by the name of Rowena Paumi?

Mr. GRUBER. Since, as I understand it, she has appeared here, too, I would decline to answer that.

Mr. ARENS. Miss Paumi, would you kindly come forward?

Be seated, please. You have already been sworn.

TESTIMONY OF ROWENA R. PAUMI—Resumed

Mr. ARENS. During the course of your membership in the Communist Party at the behest of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, did you have occasion to know a person by the name of Samuel Gruber?

Miss PAUMI. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know whether or not Samuel Gruber was a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Miss PAUMI. I have attended a closed meeting with him in 1945, and other meetings.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know Samuel Gruber as a Communist?

Miss PAUMI. As far as I know.

Mr. ARENS. Do you now see in the courtroom that person whom you knew as a Communist?

Miss PAUMI. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Point him out.

Miss PAUMI. The man on my left.

Mr. ARENS. Thank you, Miss Paumi.

TESTIMONY OF SAMUEL GRUBER—Resumed

Mr. ARENS. Will you look at this lady, Mr. Gruber, and tell us while you are under oath whether or not she was lying or telling the truth when she identified you as a person known to her to be a Communist?

Mr. GRUBER. Same answer.

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Gruber, W. C. Mosher took an oath before this committee and stated in effect that while he was an undercover agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the Communist Party, he knew you as a Communist. Was he lying or was he telling the truth?

Mr. GRUBER. I would appreciate it, Mr. Arens, if you would explain what you mean when you say "in effect"? Did he——

Mr. ARENS. You are not going to quibble with me now.

Do you want to deny that W. C. Mosher was telling the truth when he said he knew you as a Communist?

Mr. GRUBER. It was your statement; not mine. You said he said "in effect." Now you are a lawyer and I am a lawyer. I understand a little bit as to what words mean.

Did Mr. Mosher say it or did he not? I would like to know.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Mosher said he knew you as a Communist.

Now, would you tell us, was Mr. Mosher lying or was he telling the truth?

Mr. GRUBER. Is that what he said?

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question.

Mr. WILLIS. Yes, you are directed to answer the question, particularly since you have a choice, independently of what Mr. Mosher might have said or not said, to come forward on your own and affirm or deny the fact.

Mr. GRUBER. May I consult for just a minute?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. GRUBER. May I have the question?

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Reporter, will you please read the question?

(The pending question was read by the reporter.)

Mr. GRUBER. The same answer as before, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been a member of a legal commission of the Communist Party?

Mr. GRUBER. Same answer.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been a member of the State executive board of the Communist Party?

Mr. GRUBER. Same answer.

Mr. ARENS. I put it to you as a fact, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact, that you were a member of the State executive board of the Communist Party of the State of Connecticut.

Mr. GRUBER. The same answer.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now a Communist?

Mr. GRUBER. Same answer.

Mr. ARENS. Are you presently under Communist Party discipline?

Mr. GRUBER. Am I what?

Mr. ARENS. Are you presently under Communist Party discipline?

Mr. GRUBER. Would you explain what you mean by "under Communist Party discipline"?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Are you presently receiving orders and directions from the Communist conspiracy with respect to any activity by yourself?

Mr. GRUBER. Let me make it perfectly clear, Mr. Arens, that in my 20 years of practice as an attorney, I have never received orders from anyone in the legal profession, in the representation of clients, in doing what I could to help them as I saw their needs and problems.

Mr. KEARNEY. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GRUBER. I have declined to answer that, sir.

Mr. KEARNEY. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GRUBER. I have said the same answer.

Mr. KEARNEY. Your voice has been so low I did not hear you.

Mr. GRUBER. I am sorry, sir. I would really like to have some water. My lips are awfully dry.

Mr. ARENS. Certainly.

Have you consulted with anyone known to you to be a member of the Communist Party with reference to your appearance before this committee today?

Mr. GRUBER. I decline to answer, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that would conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. WILLIS. The witness will be excused.

The Chair wishes to make this statement.

The accomplishments of an investigating committee such as the House Committee on Un-American Activities cannot adequately be appraised statistically. By the very nature of its work, we are dealing

with something which is intangible though very real, and though real, it is illusive.

What we have witnessed here in the past 3 days, I believe, revealed the following:

First, we have seen additional parts of a pattern of Communist technique. All of the parts of the mosaic are not completely visible, but there has been revealed additional light on the Communist drive to colonize industrial areas. We have heard former undercover agents of the FBI testify concerning the extent and strength of the conspiracy in this area. We have learned a bit more about the current organizational pattern of the Communist Party, its groupings, and the focal points of its emphasis.

Secondly, we have, I believe, brought to the attention of the people of this area the serious nature of this conspiracy, and the hard fact of its present existence in various fabrics of our society. This problem is a problem not only for the Federal agencies of our Government, but it is a rightful concern of all loyal Americans.

Third, we have, I hope, struck another blow at the conspiracy by bringing a few more Communists to the light of day.

Fourth, we have additional material with which to reappraise the many laws which undertake to cope with the ever-changing, devious Communist operations in our land.

Now I wish to thank the many who have made our visit pleasant, including the United States marshal and his assistants; the district attorney, Mr. Cohen; Judge Anderson, for the facilities of his courtroom; the other officials of the court; and the press, the radio, and others who have been so gracious to us.

I wish to add on a personal note that this subcommittee was happy to have with us during most of our hearings our colleague from this area, Congressman Cretella. We appreciate his presence and his interest in the work of this committee.

Now I wonder if General Kearney would care to add any specific remarks?

Mr. KEARNEY. No; I have nothing specific to add, Mr. Chairman. I wholeheartedly agree with your statement, particularly with reference to the courtesies that have been extended to us by Mr. Cohen and the United States marshals, and also the members of the press, the cameramen, and the TV men. As you say, Mr. Chairman, we appreciate the presence of our colleague, Mr. Cretella, who has shown such an interest in this fight against communism, not only here but in the Halls of Congress.

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Counsel, I understand that you have no further witnesses?

Mr. ARENS. That is correct, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WILLIS. I have already brought out the fact that we have 2 or 3 more outstanding subpoenas. Mr. Kreas was afforded an opportunity to be heard again this afternoon, but, unfortunately, his counsel was not present; so I am quite sure that the persons under these outstanding subpoenas, as well as some other witnesses our investigators might want to interview in this area at a time and place to be announced, will be heard at a later date.

We will call the hearings to a conclusion.

I should be happy to have a word from our colleague, Mr. Cretella.

Mr. CRETELLA. Mr. Chairman, as a Member of Congress representing this Third Congressional District of Connecticut, it was a pleasure for me to have had you in our midst with this very serious undertaking, this very important investigation that you have been conducting. During the course of the year, this same Un-American Activities Committee, of which you are now chairman of the subcommittee, has had extended hearings throughout the country. You have taken, I know, a great deal of verbal abuse and otherwise, and so have your predecessors in the same chairmanships, and we have gone down through the years with the same abuse heaped on us.

I think every Member of Congress is vitally interested in this problem that is confronting this Nation, and I am appalled to find that in our very midst in this beautiful and grand State of Connecticut we have such an infiltration of people so disloyal to a fine country. I hope that in the next Congress, if the need arises to further strengthen the laws against communism and infiltration of disloyal individuals, that legislation will be passed.

I was glad to have welcomed you here, and I hope you enjoyed your stay.

Mr. WILLIS. Thank you, Mr. Cretella.

(Whereupon, at 4:20 p. m. Wednesday, September 26, 1956, the subcommittee recessed, subject to the call of the Chair.)

INDEX

INDIVIDUALS

	Page
Alpert, Yetta	5659
Arsenault, Oliver	5608, 5612-5623 (testimony), 5625, 5626, 5633, 5635, 5728
Bailin, Esther	5728
Barnes, Joseph	5607, 5608, 5611, 5664, 5734, 5736-5739 (testimony)
Barnes, Lois (Mrs. Joseph Barnes)	5607, 5608, 5611, 5664, 5729, 5732, 5739-5742 (testimony)
Bingham, Alfred M.	5647, 5760
Bloom, Doris (Mrs. Paul Bloom)	5658, 5750, 5751-5754 (testimony)
Bloom, Paul	5658-5660, 5682, 5749-5751 (testimony)
Browder, Earl	5644, 5763
Brunin. (See Kreas, Saul.)	
Burg, Bernard (Bernie)	5664, 5680, 5682, 5732, 5754-5759 (testimony)
Burke, Barney	5661
Brunswick, Rose	5684
Callanan	5734
Carter, Helena	5684
Chapman, Cal	5607
Chavez, Joseph	5708
Cheyfitz, Edward	5703
Clark, John	5708, 5709, 5711
Coleman, Edward	5706, 5707
Cruckray, Max	5659
Davis, Emma (Mrs. Samuel Davis)	5659, 5660, 5682, 5683, 5745-5748 (testimony)
Davis, Samuel	5659, 5683, 5742-5745 (testimony)
Demow, Joseph	5607, 5660, 5663, 5683
Demow, Lil (Mrs. Joseph Demow)	5683
Dennis, Ray	5708
Dichter, Irving	5607, 5701-5711 (testimony)
Ekins, Bob	5607
Farkas, Mary	5729
Farmer, Estelle (Mrs. Leonard Farmer)	5663
Farmer, Leonard	5663
Fazekas, Frank	5607, 5608, 5623-5631 (testimony), 5633, 5634, 5663, 5728
Finn, Jack	5728
Foxworth	5729
Gibbs, Jimmy	5607, 5680
Gilden, Bert David	5585-5598 (testimony), 5599-5605 (testimony), 5608, 5611
Gilden, Katcha (Mrs. Bert Gilden)	5607, 5608
Goldberg, Dave	5664
Goldring, Harriet	5728
Goldring, Jake	5605, 5607
Green, Fanny	5660, 5664
Gruher, Samuel	5663, 5683, 5730, 5761-5766 (testimony)
Hawley, Celeste	5680
Hemingway, Ernest	5741
Henchel, Charles	5742, 5745, 5754
Howard, Asbury	5708
Hubbell, Harvey	5605
Hubblebank, Diane	5659
Jakowenko, Konstantine	5689-5695 (testimony), 5696
Kaplan, Harry	5684
Kaplan, Lillian (Mrs. Harry Kaplan)	5660, 5684

	Page
Kaufman, Mary M.-----	5612, 5623, 5631
Kayser, Arlene. (<i>See</i> Resnick, Arlene.)	
Keating, William-----	5686
Kennedy, Bob-----	5662
Kent, Harold-----	5597,
5559 (testimony), 5605-5612 (testimony), 5620-5622, 5627-5629,	
5635, 5641, 5645, 5666, 5676, 5677, 5688, 5709, 5727, 5739, 5741.	
Krasnogorsky, Sholem. (<i>See</i> Kreas, Saul.)	
Kreas, Pauline (Mrs. Saul Kreas)-----	5659
Kreas, Saul (real name Sholem Krasnogorsky, also known as Brunin)-----	5647-
5653 (testimony), 5654-5656 (testimony), 5659, 5665-5667, 5681,	
5732, 5759, 5760, 5767.	
Larson, Orville-----	5708
Lawrence, Alton-----	5708
Lear, Maxwell-----	5746
Lindsey, Jean-----	5662
Lockwood, Ralph-----	5636, 5736, 5739
Marder, Al-----	5661
Margolin, Louise-----	5659
Margolin, Oscar-----	5659, 5662
McDonough, James-----	5662
McLeach, Bert-----	5608
Meites, Thelma-----	5660
Mosher, Harold W.-----	5650,
5661, 5678-5685 (testimony), 5744, 5745, 5748, 5751, 5753, 5759	
Mosher, Worden C. (also known as Mike Spencer)-----	5627,
5645, 5650, 5653-5654 (testimony), 5655, 5656-5668 (testimony),	
5678, 5726, 5744, 5745, 5748, 5751, 5753, 5758, 5759, 5764-5766.	
Noble, Harry-----	5746
Paumi, Rowena R.-----	5597,
5604, 5621, 5622, 5627, 5628, 5635, 5641, 5645, 5650, 5654, 5666, 5677,	
5688, 5694, 5699, 5725-5726 (testimony), 5727-5736 (testimony),	
5739, 5741, 5745, 5748, 5751, 5753, 5759, 5764, 5765 (testimony).	
Peterson, Frank-----	5610, 5642-5646 (testimony), 5664, 5728
Pezzati, Albert-----	5708, 5709
Pistey, William-----	5608, 5631-5636 (testimony), 5728
Powers, Chase-----	5708
Rabinowitz, Victor-----	5668, 5685, 5689, 5690, 5695, 5696
Rapuna, Henry-----	5706, 5707
Raymond, George Russell-----	5663
Resnick, Arlene (Mrs. Sidney Resnick, nee Kayser)-----	5680
Resnick, Sidney-----	5680
Richter, Charlotte (Mrs. Samuel Richter)-----	5607,
5610, 5678, 5685-5689 (testimony), 5733	
Richter, Samuel-----	5610, 5635, 5668-5678 (testimony), 5685, 5690, 5696, 5733
Rogers, Addie-----	5729
Rogers, Harold-----	5729
Roraback, Catherine G.-----	5585, 5642, 5749, 5751, 5761
Rosenberg, Ethel-----	5732-5734
Rosenberg, Julius-----	5732-5734
Russo, Michael A.-----	5725, 5750, 5753
Russo, Pearl-----	5729
Shea, James O'Connor-----	5759
Simons, Irv.-----	5680
Simons, Virginia-----	5680
Sito, Ida-----	5734
Sito, Louise-----	5728, 5729
Small, Priscilla-----	5661, 5680
Soyka, Joseph-----	5659
Spector, Sarah (Mrs. Isadore Spector)-----	5659
Spector, Isadore-----	5659
Spencer, Mike. (<i>See</i> Mosher, Worden C.)	
Stahl, Dave-----	5664
Steinberg, Hyman-----	5690, 5695-5700 (testimony)
Sutton, Al-----	5729
Sykes, Emmett-----	5729

Page

Sykes, Mattie	5608, 5636
Tate, Jim	5607
Taylor, Sidney S.	5607, 5662, 5751, 5753
Thompson, Joe	5729
Tomach, Sam	5734
Towles, Burl	5680
Travis, Maurice	5707, 5711
Trudeau, Clyde	5681
Ward, Roosevelt	5607
Weed, Verne	5708, 5709, 5731
Weinberg, Milton	5610, 5636-5641 (testimony), 5734
Weinberg, Mrs. Milton	5734
Weissman, Sol	5683
Willard, Josephine	5605, 5607, 5608, 5619, 5663, 5664, 5712-5725 (testimony), 5726-5727 (testimony), 5728
Willcox, Elsie	5708, 5709, 5731, 5734
Witt, Nathan	5705
Wyman, Jack	5728
Young, Al	5607
Yuchnick, Grace	5729
Yuchnick, Mike	5729
Zanella, Vincent, Jr.	5712

ORGANIZATIONS

AVCO Manufacturing Corp.	5610, 5636, 5642, 5660
Aid to Wives of the Smith Act Victims	5732
Amnesty Committee, Connecticut	5732
Bridgeport Women for Peace	5740, 5741
Civil Rights Congress	5732
Communist Party:	
Connecticut	5657
Executive Committee	5606, 5766
Negro Commission	5606, 5607
State Board (concealed)	5606, 5607, 5609
State Committee	5606, 5663
University of Connecticut cell	5681
Bridgeport	5608, 5610, 5611, 5724
Bridgeport Club	5728
Cell within General Electric Co.	5607, 5611
City Committee	5606, 5607
Decca Branch	5727, 5728
Decca-Columbia Branch	5728
East End Branch	5728, 5729
Executive Board	5726
North End Branch	5728
12-B Branch	5729
New Haven	5658, 5661
A. F. of L. Club	5663
Branford Club	5662
CIO Club	5663
Dixwell Club	5660
Finance Committee	5657
Grand Avenue Club	5661, 5662
Hill Club	5658, 5682
Howe Street Club	5659, 5664, 5683, 5684
Industrial Club	5662, 5663
Organization and Education Committee	5657
Professional Club	5663, 5664
Railroad Club	5662
Section Committee	5679, 5681
Yale Club	5663, 5679, 5680
Youth Club (group)	5661, 5664, 5679, 5680, 5682
Communist Political Association	5729
Connecticut Peace Council	5731-5733
Connecticut Volunteers for Civil Rights	5732, 5738
Diecasting Workers, National Association of	5703

	Page
Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, United: Local 203, Bridgeport, Conn.....	5617, 5618, 5625, 5626, 5630, 5644
Executive Board.....	5618
Electrical Workers, International Union of.....	5633
Freedom of the Press Committee.....	5693
General Electric Co., Bridgeport, Conn.....	5594, 5596, 5605, 5610, 5613, 5615, 5617, 5624, 5625, 5631, 5632, 5643, 5660, 5728
Jefferson School of Social Science.....	5606
Labor Youth League.....	5680, 5682
March of Labor (publication).....	5630
Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, International, Union of.....	5701, 5703-5707, 5711
Executive Board.....	5708
National Lawyers Guild.....	5762
Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of, A. F. of L.: Local 186.....	5649
People's Party, Connecticut.....	5592, 5595, 5608, 5619, 5755, 5757
Progressive Party.....	5592
Reliable Steel Drum Co., Bridgeport, Conn.....	5669
Singer Manufacturing Co., Bridgeport, Conn.....	5596, 5737
Young Communist League.....	5725





3 9999 05706 3248

a	3249	1-til sat pt 6
b c d	3240	black listing pfs 1-3
e m	3241	propaganda pfs 2-3
f	3242	fund for republic
g	3243	Tillich
h i	3244	New Haven pt 1-2
j	3245	LA pt 11
k	3246	subversion diplo
l	3247	Youngstown report



